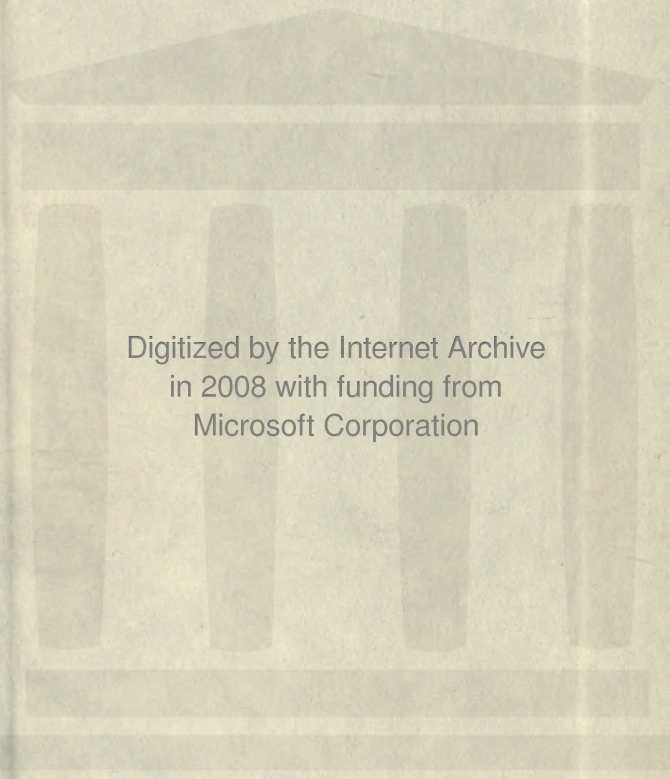
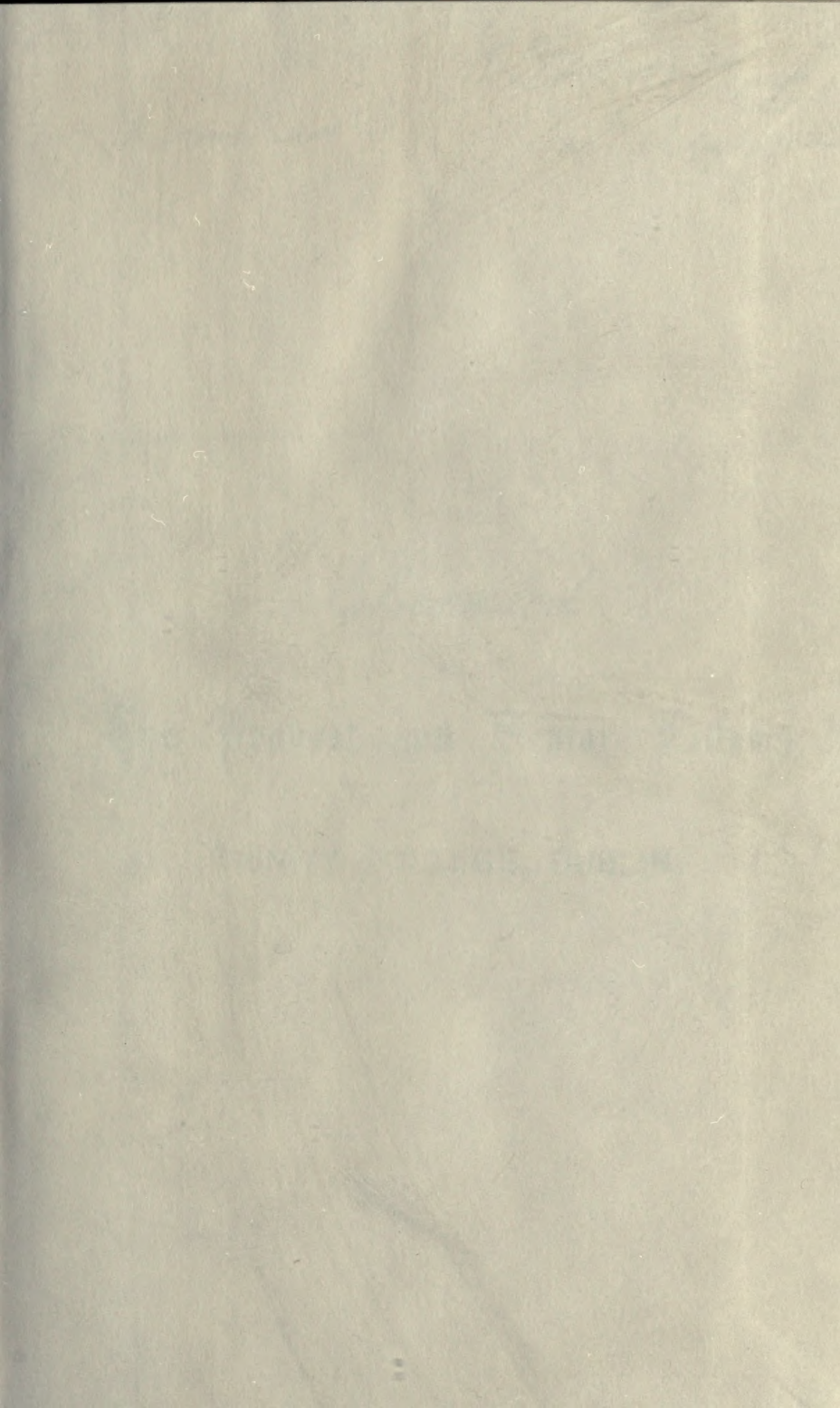
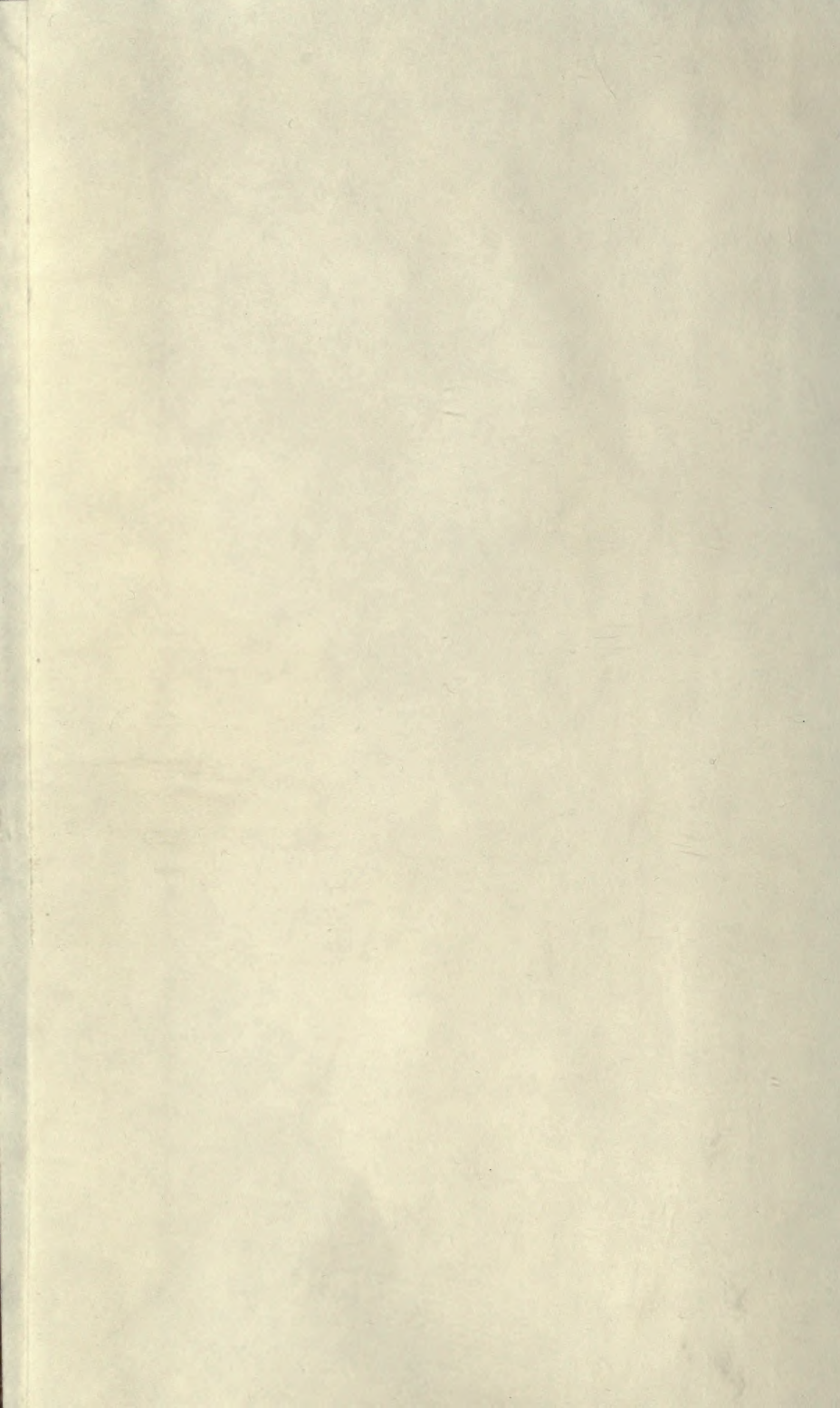


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BY

The Provost and Senior Fellows

OF

TRINITY COLLEGE, DUBLIN.

HISTORY OF THE MEDICAL TEACHING
IN TRINITY COLLEGE DUBLIN
AND OF THE SCHOOL OF
PHYSIC IN IRELAND

OXFORD: HORACE HART
PRINTER TO THE UNIVERSITY



SOME OF THE SCHOOL BUILDINGS, 1912

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BY
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PHYSICIANS OF IRELAND

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TO
ANTHONY TRAILL

LL.D., M.D., M.CH., D.L.

HON. FELLOW OF THE ROYAL COLLEGE OF PHYSICIANS OF
IRELAND; HON. FELLOW OF THE ROYAL COLLEGE OF
SURGEONS IN IRELAND; HON. LL.D. OF THE
UNIVERSITIES OF GLASGOW, ABERDEEN
AND ST. ANDREWS

THE FIRST MEDICAL PROVOST OF
TRINITY COLLEGE DUBLIN

PREFACE

IN preparing this record of the teaching of Medicine in Trinity College and in the School of Physic in Ireland, my chief object has been to present an accurate narrative of the events in the history of the School and in the lives of those who have been responsible for its management.

To write a complete history of the Medical School would involve a history of Medicine during the past two hundred and fifty years. The limitations imposed on me made the accomplishment of such a task impossible, and consequently I have contented myself with merely indicating some of those points in which the work of the teachers in the School has been in the van of medical progress. The time of the Professors was so fully occupied with teaching, and with the details of school management that little opportunity was left them for original research. That so many of them have been able to earn for themselves places in the history of medicine proves that the title of the 'silent sister', so often given to Trinity College, is not altogether justified in the case of the School of Physic.

I am much indebted to the work of previous writers who have treated of the different periods embraced in this history, and so far as possible I have acknowledged the sources of my information in the text and in the notes. My thanks are especially due to the Board of Trinity College for having given me free access to the College Registers and to the documents connected with the school. Without this privilege much of the book could not have been written. My thanks are also due to Professor Beare and Mr. Percy Browne for the English rendering of the Latin passages given in the text. To Dr. Robert J. Rowlette I am especially indebted for the trouble he has taken in reading the manuscript, and for the many valuable suggestions he has made. I wish also to thank Mr. William Hodson, of the Registrar's Office, Trinity College, for the care he has taken in making transcripts from the Trinity College Registers, and Mr. Robert J. Phelps, Librarian of the Royal College of Physicians, for similar kind offices in connexion with the Registers of that College. To Miss Gertrude Thrift and to Miss Sibyl Kirkpatrick I am indebted for their patient researches in the Record Office.

T. PERCY C. KIRKPATRICK.

CONTENTS

	CHAPTER I	PAGE
INTRODUCTION		I
	CHAPTER II	
EARLY HISTORY OF TRINITY COLLEGE . . .		17
	CHAPTER III	
TRINITY HALL		32
	CHAPTER IV	
THE CLOSE OF THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY . .		49
	CHAPTER V	
THE FOUNDATION OF THE SCHOOL		76
	CHAPTER VI	
THE KING'S PROFESSORS		101
	CHAPTER VII	
THE PROFESSORSHIP OF GEORGE CLEGHORN . .		126
	CHAPTER VIII	
THE FIRST SCHOOL OF PHYSIC ACT		149

	PAGE
CHAPTER IX	
CLOSING YEARS OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY	168
CHAPTER X	
THE SCHOOL OF PHYSIC ACT, 1800	189
CHAPTER XI	
JAMES MACARTNEY AND WHITLEY STOKES	216
CHAPTER XII	
THE NEW SCHOOL	234
CHAPTER XIII	
SCHOOL MANAGEMENT. MACARTNEY'S RESIGNATION	248
CHAPTER XIV	
SCHOOL REFORM—GRAVES AND STOKES	266
CHAPTER XV	
MEDICAL LEGISLATION	285
CHAPTER XVI	
THE SCHOOL STAFF	303
CHAPTER XVII	
MODERN DEVELOPMENT	326

CONTENTS

xi

APPENDIXES

	PAGE
I. REFERENCES	340
II. THE MEDICAL STAFF OF TRINITY COLLEGE AND OF THE SCHOOL OF PHYSIC IN IRELAND .	349
INDEX	359

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

SOME OF THE SCHOOL BUILDINGS, 1912	<i>Frontispiece</i>
THE LIBRARY AND ANATOMY HOUSE, 1753	<i>to face page 76</i>
MEDICAL SCHOOL, OPENED IN 1825	<i>. to face page 234</i>

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

A SEARCH for the origin of medicine leads one back to the earliest existence of primitive man. In the first recorded code of laws which we now possess, that of Hammurabi, which dates back to 2200 B.C., we find the position of the Mesopotamian physicians well defined, and definite rules laid down to regulate their remuneration and responsibilities. Thus we read :

‘ If a doctor has cured the shattered limb of a gentleman, or has cured the diseased bowel, the patient shall give five shekels of silver to the doctor.’ ‘ If a doctor has treated a gentleman for severe wound with a lancet of bronze and caused the gentleman to die, or has opened an abscess of the eye for a gentleman with a bronze lancet and caused the loss of the gentleman’s eye, one shall cut off his hands.’¹

In Egypt also medicine had reached a high state of development at the earliest time of which we have records. Of the Greeks, from whom most of our Western medicine is derived, we know nothing till many centuries after the date of the code of Hammurabi, but at the siege of Troy, some five or six centuries before the date of Hippocrates,

¹ Johns, p. 46.

we find mention of Machaon and Podaleirios, the sons of Asclepius, the son of Apollo, and later worshipped as the god of healing. Though in Homer we find the statement :

ἰητροὺς γὰρ ἀνὴρ πολλῶν ἀντάξιος ἄλλων,
 ' A physician outweighs many other men ',

it is evident that Greek medicine at his time was very far from being as highly developed as that of Mesopotamia, some thousand years earlier. With Hippocrates, who was born about 460 B.C., and died about 377 B.C., Greek medicine reached its zenith, just as did the civilization of the people.

In Roman history a similar sequence of events can be traced. At the time of Hippocrates there was little medicine known at Rome, but at the Christian era we find Celsus, between A.D. 25 and 35, writing his famous book, *De Medicina*, in which, speaking of the liver, he says :

' Si vera jecur vomica laborat, eadem facienda sunt, quae in caeteris interioribus suppurationibus. Quidam etiam ultra id scalpello aperiunt, et ipsam vomicam adurunt.' ¹

When we come to investigate the condition of medicine in ancient Ireland we are met with the difficulty that there are few, if any, authentic records of the history of the people before the Christian era. Tradition must here take the place of history, and fortunately the tradition is fairly full and well authenticated. Just as the Greeks worshipped Asclepius, so the ancient Irish had

¹ Celsus, bk. iv, cap. 8.

their medical deity, Diancecht. This Diancecht, whose name means 'vehement power', is stated to have been a physician and one of the chief men of the Tuatha dé Danann in the time of King Nuada of the Silver Hand, who is said to have lived about the year 1272 B.C. It is related¹ that in the great battle of Magh Tuireadh, between the Tuatha dé Danann and the Firbolgs, King Nuada, though victorious, lost his arm, and this physical defect was sufficient to debar him from holding kingly office. A viceroy, however, was appointed, and in seven years Diancecht, with the assistance of Creidné, the great worker in metal, had not only cured the king's wound, but fitted him with a silver hand. Further, in the second battle of Magh Tuireadh, fought some years later between the Tuatha dé Danann and the Fomorians, we hear of Diancecht preparing a bath medicated with herbs gathered in the Lus Mhagh, or 'Plain of Herbs', the present King's County. This bath was presided over by Diancecht, with his daughter Ochtrinil, and his two sons, Airmedh and Mioch. The wounded of the dé Danann were brought from the field of battle and placed in this bath, and coming out whole, were enabled to return to the fight, and so bring victory to their side.

In the book of *Genealogies of MacFirbis* we read of several other medical heroes of the Irish, such as 'Eaba the female physician'. O'Curry translates the passage as follows² :

' Thus saith the Ancient Authority : The first doctor,

¹ O'Curry, *MSS. Mat.*, p. 246.

² *Ibid.*, p. 221.

the first builder, and the first fisherman, that ever were in Erin were :

Capa, for the healing of the sick,
In his time was all-powerful ;
And *Luasad*, the cunning builder,
And *Laighné*, the fisherman.

' *Eaba*, the female physician who accompanied the lady *Ceasair*, was the second doctor ; *Slanga*, the son of *Partholan*, was the third doctor that came into Erin (with *Partholan*) ; and *Fergna*, the grandson of *Crithinbel*, was the fourth doctor who came into Erin (with *Nemed*). The doctors of the *Firbolgs* were, *Dubhda Dubhlosach*, *Condán Corinchisnech*, and *Fingin Fisiocdha Mainé*, the son of *Gressach*, and *Aongus Anternmach*. The doctors of the *Tuatha Dé Danann* were *Diancecht*, *Airmedh*, *Miach*, &c.'

Coming down to more recent times we have the story of the tragic fate of *Conchobhar Mac Nessa*, King of Ulster (obit A.D. 37), which is preserved in the *Book of Leinster* in the library of Trinity College. The king was wounded in the head by a missile from the sling of one of his enemies, and was carried helpless from the field. O'Curry¹ gives this translation of the account of the subsequent events :

' In the meantime his physician was brought to *Conchobar*, namely *Fingen*. He it was that could know by the fume that arose from a house the number that was ill in the house, and every disease that prevailed in the house. " Good," said *Fingen*, " if the stone be taken out of thy head, thou shalt be dead at once, if it is not taken out of it, however, I would cure thee, but it would be a blemish upon thee." " The blemish," said the Ulto-

¹ O'Curry, *MSS. Mat.*, pp. 453 and 637.

nians, "is better for us than his death." His head was then healed, and it was stitched with thread of gold, because the colour of Conchobar's hair was the same as the colour of gold.

'And the doctor said to *Conchobar* that he should be cautious, that is that he should not allow his anger to come upon him, and that he should not go upon a horse, and that he should not run.

'He continued then in that doubtful state as long as he lived, namely, seven years, and was incapable of action but to remain sitting only.'

The tradition is recorded in several writers¹ that Josina, the ninth king of Scotland, and one of the successors of Fergus, who died, as some say, in 161 B. C., or according to others in 137 B. C., was sent by his parents to Ireland to be educated among the physicians and surgeons there. Such a tradition suggests that the position and teaching of the Irish physicians was acknowledged not only at home but in foreign lands.

Besides these traditional reports which point to a development of medical knowledge, inferior no doubt to that of Hippocrates, but quite equal to that of the time of the Trojan war, we have in the Brehon Laws more authentic historical evidence of the condition of Irish medicine.

The Brehon Laws, the ancient laws of Ireland, have come down to us from prehistoric time. They grew up in pagan Ireland, and about A. D. 438, at the request of St. Patrick, they were codified to their present form. It should be recognized that at this time these laws, though brought into accord

¹ Kennedy, *Address*; Wilde, *Census 1851*.

with Christian ideas, were not new, and were not materially added to, but were traditional in the country. The two most important books of this code which have been preserved are the *Senchus Mor* (Great Code) and the *Book of Aicill*, and in both of these we have several references to medical matters, some of which, especially those dealing with the remuneration and responsibilities of the physician, remind us strongly of the code of Hammurabi. A few extracts from the published translation of the ancient laws will show with what clearness the position of the physician is defined.

‘ Half “ dire ”—fine with compensation.¹

‘ That is, from the unlawful physician if he has removed a joint or a sinew without taking guarantee, without warning of bad curing ; if he has done either of these, it (*the penalty*) is one-fourth fine with compensation ; if he has done both, he is exempt.

‘ Compensation is *recoverable* from the lawful physician if he has removed a joint or sinew without taking guarantee ; and if he has taken guarantee, he is exempt.

‘ The unlawful physician shall make compensation for his blood-“ letting ” without taking guarantee, without warning of bad curing ; if he has *done* both he is exempt.

‘ The lawful physician is exempt for blood-letting without taking guarantee, or *giving* warning of bad curing. The unlawful physician is bound to take guarantee only. This is the case where there was no wound upon the body before him (or when, though there was, he increased the wound too much) if an impartial physician declares that it could have been cured more lawfully. If there were wounds on the body before him, and if he did not increase them, and an impartial physician declares that they could not have been cured more lawfully, he is exempt as regards them.’

¹ *Brehon Laws*, vol. iii, p. 321.

' According to body-fine is calculated the physician's share from kings and their co-grades, and from the chieftain grades, and it is paid out of the allowance for sick maintenance. Whichever of them is the smaller, the body-fine for the wound or the allowance for sick maintenance, it is thereby it is calculated what the " Feini " grades pay, and it is paid out of the allowance for sick maintenance. It may be one-half, it may be one-third, it may be one-fourth.

' The physicians share from these following ; it is one-half from kings and their co-grades, it is one-third from chieftain grades, and it is one-fourth from " Feini " grades.'¹

If one person wounded another the aggressor had to pay a fine to the injured one as well as provide him with sick maintenance and medical care. If the wound broke out again within a certain time further provision had to be made for the injured person, but the physician had to attend for nothing. If, however, the recurrence of the trouble

' had been in consequence of bad curing, with the knowledge of the physician, there is no testing time to be taken into consideration, but it (the penalty) is always to be paid by the physician, just as if he had inflicted it (the wound) with his own hand '.²

In explanation of what is meant by ' sick maintenance ' we read in the *Senchus Mor* ³ :

' For providing him with proper bed furniture, i. e., plaids and bolsters, i. e., a suitable bed. For providing him with a proper house, i. e., that it be not a dirty, snail-besmeared house ; or that it be not one of the three inferior houses, i. e., that there be four doors out of it,

¹ *Brehon Laws*, vol. iii, p. 477.

² *Ibid.*, vol. iii, p. 535.

³ *Ibid.*, vol. i, p. 131.

that the sick man may be seen from every side, and water must run across the middle of it. For guarding against the things prohibited by the physician, i. e., that the sick man may not be injured, i. e., by women or dogs, i. e., that fools and female scolds be not let into the house to him, i. e., or that he may not be injured by forbidden food.'

Sullivan¹ tells us that as a rule the houses of the ancient Irish had only one, or at most two doors, but the house of the Irish *Liag* or Leech was to have four doors, and also, that while the ordinary householder, or *Brughfer*, was allowed to have a spring of water in his house if he chose, the physician was obliged to build his house over a running stream.

It would appear that the physician was allowed either to use his house as a hospital or to treat the patient in his own home. Thus homes of physicians came to be looked on as general hospitals, and the *forus tuaithe*, or the 'territory house', mentioned in the laws is translated 'hospital'.² In the *Senchus Mor* the probe (*feag*) is mentioned, and is the only reference to a medical instrument that we have met with in these laws :

'As to the distraint of a physician : let his horsewhip or his probe be taken up. If he have not the proper number of *such things*, let a thread *be tied* about the finger next to his little finger. If he does not cede justice, it is *the same as* absconding on his part ; and *let there be* notice served for every distress taken from them (*the physicians*).'³

¹ O'Curry, *M. and C.*, vol. i, p. 319, and p. 346.

² *Brehon Laws*, vol. iv, p. 303.

³ *Ibid.*, vol. ii, p. 119.

From the very earliest times the Irish physician was attached to the clan or house of a chieftain, and the profession of physic passed from father to son just as did the profession of the other arts and crafts in the country. This hereditary character of the Irish physicians was not unknown in other countries, as the oath of Hippocrates shows. In Ireland, however, this characteristic appears to have persisted until comparatively recent times, and the names and records of many families of hereditary physicians have come down to us. Thus we have the O'Callenans of Desmond, the O'Cassidys of Fermanagh, the O'Lees of Connaught, and the O'Hickeys, hereditary physicians to the O'Briens of Thomond, to the O'Kennedys of Ormond, and the Macnamaras of Clare.¹

We find one of this O'Hickey family appointed in 1590 physician to the city of Dublin under the following conditions :²

' That Nicholas Hykie, doctor of physick, in consideration that he shall henceforward dwell and make his abode in Dublin, shall have and be paid by the hands of the thresorer of this cittie out of the thresorie and revenewe of the said cittie yearlie ten pounds, lawfull mony of Irland, begynning from Maie next, during his good behavior and usadge, and shall observe the orders and dyrections following, that is to saie, taking for the vewe and loking of eche passientes uryrn without visitacion, the pacient being a cittezen, sixe pence sterling ; for every visitacion of such passient and vewe of his water, twelve pence sterling ; item for eche visitacion without vewe of his water, twelve pence sterling, over and besyds

¹ Joyce, vol. i, p. 600.

² C. A. R., vol. ii, p. 147.

consideracion that if he undertake to cure eny man for a certayne som of mony, then he be at libertie to agre with the saide partie; also, that uppon lysence of Mr. Mayor of this cittie for the tyme being, he may goo threscore myles out of this cittie, so as he return agayne within XII daies after, and that without lysence he may goo no further then that he may retorne within XXIII howres after; and if the Mayor for the tyme being shall send for hym at eny tyme he shall com to the said Mr. Mayor presently, uppon payne of losing halfe a yeares stipend.'

How these old physicians acquired a knowledge of their profession cannot now be fully determined. Many of them doubtless studied abroad, since at the revival of learning many Irishmen of all professions were found occupying distinguished positions in the various schools of Europe. In earlier times it is probable that most of the teaching was done by means of a system of pupilage, the physician imparting his knowledge to his son or to his immediate dependants, and so carrying on the hereditary profession. The monastic institutions of early Christian Ireland were homes of learning, but in these places divinity and law were the two faculties most cultivated, and we do not read of any regular medical teaching. In the Middle Ages, however, medicine was often studied as a part of a liberal education, and it is more than probable that many of the students in the monasteries, though chiefly occupied with the study of divinity or philosophy, also studied medicine as did the philosophers of Greece in the time of Plato and Aristotle. The Brehon Laws, as we have seen,

draw a distinction between the qualified and unqualified physicians, but they do not tell us what the distinction was.

Many medical manuscripts in the Irish language, some dating as far back as the thirteenth century, have been preserved, and some of these are known to have been the treasured books of the old families of physicians.

Though the earliest of these manuscripts does not date earlier than the end of the thirteenth century, some of them are undoubtedly copies of earlier works. Very few of these writings have been fully examined, but those that have are chiefly translations of the Latin renderings of the Arabian physicians and their commentaries on the writings of Hippocrates, Aristotle, and Galen. The existence of these manuscripts proves conclusively that the Irish physicians of the time were fully conversant with the best medical knowledge current in Europe, and it is probable that it was to a study of such works, aided by personal observation of the sick under their care, that these men owed their skill as physicians. Several of these manuscripts are to be found in the libraries of the Royal Irish Academy and of Trinity College, as well as in the libraries of England and Scotland, and it is to be hoped that translations of some at least of them will soon be available for the students of medical history.

Dr. Norman Moore¹ has examined some of the Irish medical manuscripts in the British Museum,

¹ Moore, *Med. in Ireland*.

and finds that they are generally Irish translations of the Latin works. One of the most celebrated of these, known as the Book of the O'Hickeys, is a translation of the *Lilium Medicinæ* of Bernardus de Gordon, the celebrated professor of Montpelier, who died in 1305. The book was first printed in Naples in 1480, and then at Ferrara in 1486, and twice in Venice before 1500. There is an excellent copy of the second, or Ferrara, edition in the Worth Library at Steevens' Hospital. Besides the manuscript of this work in the British Museum there are several others in the Irish language, notably one of the fifteenth century in the Edinburgh University Library, which has been described by Dr. Mackintosh.¹

The existence of hospitals for the care of the sick is another feature of Irish medicine to which reference must be made. It is doubtful how far, if at all, these institutions were used for teaching purposes. We have already seen from the Brehon Laws that from very early times hospitals were in use in Ireland, and were governed by rules which appeal to us even in these days of advanced hygiene. Though later on many of the hospitals were attached to monastic institutions, and were used not only for the sick but also for the aged and infirm, yet secular hospitals were also common in the country. Some of these institutions were devoted specially to the care of those afflicted with leprosy, a disease which was common in

¹ Mackintosh, p. 170.

Ireland. One of these leper houses, the hospital of St. Stephen at Waterford, is said to have been founded by King John. It continued to be used as a leper hospital till the beginning of the eighteenth century, when it was converted to its present use, 'As it was thought that a public Infirmary would best answer the intent of the pious benefactor: since leprosy is not a disease now much complained of.'¹ Wilde tells us that the last leper was treated in this hospital in 1775.

In Dublin there were several hospitals, of which the most famous was perhaps that of St. John, founded in the twelfth century by Alrued le Palmer, outside the Newgate of the city, on the site now occupied by the Church of SS. Augustine and John in Thomas Street. Ware² tells us that this hospital contained in the reign of Edward III 155 sick persons. The Hospital of St. Stephen,³ founded in 1344, on the site of the present Mercer's Hospital, was a leper house which was still in use in the sixteenth century.

How far these monastic hospitals are comparable with our modern hospitals it is now very difficult to judge. We have no record of physicians or surgeons being attached to them, or of such persons using them for the study of disease. It seems probable that they merely afforded a home for the sick poor, who, while there, were fed and attended by the brothers of the house. These

¹ Wilde, *Census 1851*.

² Ware, *De Hibern.*, p. 143.

³ Evans, *Irish Builder*, October 15, 1896, p. 218.

monks no doubt had considerable skill in medicine, but they were not the regular practitioners of the country, and the experience which they gained from their contact with the sick added little to the general stock of medical knowledge.

In the year 1542, when the Act of Henry VIII was passed for the suppression of the monasteries, most of these hospitals were closed, and in the seventeenth century there were few, if any, civil hospitals in active existence in Ireland.

The only medical corporation existing in Ireland at this time of which we have any record was that of the Barber-Surgeons in Dublin.¹ The Guild of the Art of Barbers, or Guild of St. Mary Magdalene, of the City of Dublin, was established by Royal Charter on the 18th of October in the twenty-fifth year of Henry VI (1446), for the promotion and exercise of the art of Chirurgery. This guild, consisting of both men and women, continued its separate existence till the year 1576. During this time there appears to have sprung up a body of surgeons, for the *Charter of Elizabeth* (1576) states : ²

‘because there are now two distinct Societies practising the said art & faculty in our city aforesaid, viz. : one of barbers and the other of Chirurgeons, which said Society of Chirurgeons is not yet constituted or incorporated into any body politick ; and it being necessary to blend, joyn, and reduce the said distinct and separate Societies of barbers and chirurgeons into one body, that in one close, aggregate and connected fellowship the art and science of chirurgery may flourish as well in theory as in practice.’

¹ Moore, *Hist. Pharm.*

² Ibid.

In a further Charter dated February 10, 1687, the apothecaries and periwig-makers were united to the barber-chirurgeons in the Guild of St. Mary Magdalene and remained so connected till September 18, 1745, when the apothecaries obtained a separate Charter incorporating them as the Guild of St. Luke. The barbers and surgeons continued united, in name at all events, till the foundation in 1784 of the College of Surgeons.¹

In Ireland during the latter half of the sixteenth century, progress in medicine had ceased, and, indeed, like other branches of learning, the study of medicine seems to have gone backward. There is much difference of opinion as to the part taken by the monasteries in Irish culture. Mahaffy² in his *Epoch in Irish History* gives weighty reasons for thinking that their share was a small one, but he seems to have underrated it. As teaching centres they may not have been very active, but they secured a home for learned men, and afforded a safe repository for the manuscripts and other accumulations of a long line of scholars. With the suppression of these houses the scholars were scattered and many of them left the country to seek a safer refuge in foreign universities. The continuous fighting of the Irish among themselves and with the English of the pale, left little time or opportunity for studying the arts of peace. The houses of the great chieftains could no longer give shelter to learning, and no institution had

¹ Cameron, *Hist. R. C. S. I.*, p. 89.

² Mahaffy, *Epoch*, chap. i.

been founded to take their place. The art of printing, introduced into Europe in the middle of the fifteenth century, did not reach Ireland till nearly a century later, and very few books were printed in the country before 1600.¹

The hereditary physicians still continued with their clans, but they had little leisure to advance the study of their profession, or even to keep themselves acquainted with the advances which were made elsewhere. We find no Irish manuscripts of the works of men like Vesalius, as we do of the work of Bernard of Gordon, nor is there any evidence of the presence in the country at this time of printed copies of the works of the great European physicians. The condition of learning at the beginning of the seventeenth century was bad, and there seemed to be little ground for hope of improvement.

¹ Dix, Part I, p. 9:

CHAPTER II

EARLY HISTORY OF TRINITY COLLEGE

As the darkest period of the night is said to be that which immediately precedes the dawn, so when the outlook was blackest for Irish learning Queen Elizabeth granted the Charter founding the University of Dublin and Trinity College.

This Charter, which is dated March 3, 1591/2, states that

‘ Since it has been ascertained that the institution of certain degrees in Arts and faculties have been of assistance to learning we ordain by these presents that the Students of this College of the Holy and Undivided Trinity of Queen Elizabeth near Dublin, shall have liberty and power of obtaining the degrees of Bachelor, Master and Doctor, each at its proper time in all arts and faculties.’

Thus, though no special mention is made of the faculty of medicine, it was undoubtedly intended that it should be taught within the halls of the College. Moreover, one of the first functions connected with the University had a medical bearing. In pursuance of the decision of the Corporation of Dublin at their meeting on the ‘ Fourth Friday after the 25 December, 1590 ’, ‘ that the scite of Alhallowes and the parkes thereof shalbe wholly

gyven for the erection of a College there,'¹ the deed granting this site was drawn up and signed on July 21, 1592.² On March 13, 1592/3, the first stone of the College buildings was laid by the Mayor, Thomas Smith, Apothecary. This Thomas Smith was a man of some repute in his profession, for we find that in 1566 he was granted a concordatum in the following terms: 'Smythe. Thapothecaries Concordatum that eŵry Counsaillō shall give hym a yerely Reward of XXs. and eŵry of the Army 1 daies wags yerely.'³ This grant, or Concordatum, was a gift made by Order of Council in cases when it was deemed right to give assistance to some person or corporation, although such person or corporation was not on the regular establishment or pay-list of the country. The early support which the College received from the Government was largely granted in this way.

The foundation of Trinity College did not at first effect any change in the medical teaching or practice of the country. The record in the Particular Book of the Concordatum of forty pounds a year described as 'the Physician's pay' has been regarded by many as the origin of the medical professorship of the University. It has also been suggested that the money was granted to the College in order that the services of a physician might be retained in the College, much as the Concordatum was granted to Thomas Smith in order that

¹ *C. A. R.*, vol. ii, p. 240.

² Mahaffy, *Epoch*, p. 63.

³ *C. S. P.*; Gilbert, *Hist.*, vol. i, p. 428.

'he shoulde be reteyned and enhabeted from hencefurth the better to provide from tyme to tyme during his contynuanee here fresshe and newe druggs and other Apothecarye wares in plentifull maner to the nedefull and good helpe of suche of the Englishe byrthe in this realme resident and of the nobilitie and others of the graver and civylier sorte of this realme wch shall covett the same for their redye mony.'¹

That such an office would be necessary in the College is evident from a note in the Register in June 1604,² that 'the Colledg broke upp because of the plague'. It is, however, almost certain that the Concordatum of 'the Physician's pay' had nothing whatever to say to either the teaching of medicine or the remuneration of a medical man in the College. The following description given by Harris of this grant makes this matter quite clear :

'Archbishop Loftus, who had been a great instrument in the first foundation, was one of the lords justices in 1597 and 1598, in conjunction with sir Robert Gardiner, chief justice of the queen's bench. These lords justices, "in regard of the decay of the revenues of the college in those times of rebellion, and as the same was of her majesty's princely foundation, having no other means of relief, granted to the college a concordatum of 40*l.* sterling per annum, and also the allowance of six dead payes out of such cheques as should be imposed upon her majesty's army," and the earl of Essex, lord lieutenant in 1599, reciting the said grant, by concordatum dated the 3d of May that year, continued the same during pleasure, and ordered the concordatum of 40*l.* a year to be paid quarterly, and the dead payes, amounting to

¹ Gilbert, *Hist.*, vol. i, p. 427.

² *Reg.*, vol. i, p. 25 a.

5*l.* 12*s.* a month to be paid monthly. In November the same year archbishop Loftus and sir George Carey, being then lords justices, the fellows and corporation of the college petitioned them for "present relief, setting forth the utter decay of the college rents in the then general revolt, whereby they were fallen into great want, and not able to hold their society together". Upon which petition they obtained a warrant on the 30th of that month, for the payment of 40*s.* a week out of the entertainment appointed for a canoneer, to continue till the vice-treasurer should receive warrant to the contrary. On the 29th of January following, the lords justices and council issued another concordatum in behalf of the college, reciting, "that, forasmuch as by several lords deputies, lords justices, and the late lord lieutenant, there had been granted to the provost and some of the fellows of Trinity college near Dublin, a concordatum of 40*l.* sterl. yearly, for keeping a publick and standing lecture unto the state, and that by the death of Matthias Holmes, late fellow of the college, the same place is fallen void; they therefore order, that the said college should have as her majesty's bounty, for the better maintenance of the provost, and to the use before mentioned, the said sum of 40*l.* sterling yearly, to be paid to them out of such fines, impost of wines, and other casualties as should come to the vice-treasurer's hands, to be paid quarterly, until contrary directions be issued".¹

The Matthias Holmes here referred to was elected a Fellow of the College in 1593, and he is described by Ware² as 'Lecturer to the State of *Ireland* for which he received forty pound per *Annum* out of the concordatum'. Holmes died in 1599; several tracts by him are preserved in manuscript in the College Library.

¹ Harris, *Hist. of Dublin*, p. 399; Ware, vol. ii, p. 249.

² Ware's *Writers*, bk. ii, p. 329.

Further confirmation of this view of 'the Physician's pay' is found in the following entries in the *Calendar of State Papers, Ireland* :

' March 13, 1598/9. The Provost and Fellows of Trinity College near Dublin, for the physician's fee allowed unto them by the State, untill a physician shall be appointed, viz., for a year, ended ultimo Septembris. 40*l*.'¹

' Concordatums allowed from April 14, 1599 to 17 July following.

' To the society of Trinity College, for a half-year's annuity ending ultimo March. 20*l*.²

' To the said society for six dead pays for four months ending 10 Junii. 22*l*. 8*s*.

' Book of Concordatums granted beginning primo Martii 1588/9 and ending decimo Novembris 1599.

' The Society of Trinity College near Dublin, for six dead pays at 8*d*. le piece per diem for six months (and) a half ending ultimo Septembris 1599. 36*l*. 8*s*.

' The said Society for one year's fee ended eodem die et anno ut supra. 40*l*.'³

It was a common practice at this time for the State grant to be described and defined as the pay of some officer, and 'the physician's pay' was evidently the pay of a physician, just as the '40*s*. a week out of the entertainment appointed for a canoneer' was money which would otherwise have been paid to 'Gunners who were then out of ye Kingdom'.⁴ The 'dead pays' were evidently the pay of soldiers which had fallen to the government on account of the death of the recipients.

¹ C. S. P., 1598-9, p. 490.

² Ibid., 1599-1600, p. 240.

³ Ibid., 1599-1600, p. 98.

⁴ T. C. D. Cal., p. 395.

Later on, as we shall see in the history of the College, the Professorship of Medicine was endowed by the government when the grant was made to John Stearne of £60 a year, and it was evidently to this, and not to the Concordatum, that Henry Styles, Professor of Laws in Trinity College, refers in his petition to the king dated October 24, 1668, when he says :¹ ' The Professors of Divinity and Physic have encouragement in their studies by salaries allowed, the former out of Ancient College revenue, the other out of the Exchequer,' and he goes on to ask that the Professor of Law ' May have the same encouragement as those of Divinity and Physic '.

The first Statutes of the University and the College lay down regulations both for degrees in medicine and also for establishing a medical fellowship. In a copy of these statutes, partly in the handwriting of Sir William Temple, Provost between 1609 and 1627, and partly in that of William Bedell, Provost between 1627 and 1629, there is the following :²

Cap. XIII. De Doctoratu in Medicina.

' That which we require in the case of a student of Law we likewise require in the case of a student of Medicine ; namely that he shall be a Master of Arts, and that, after taking the degree of Master, he shall have diligently devoted seven years to the study of Medicine before he comes forward to seek that degree.

' Moreover we require that he must on six occasions prelect in the School of Physicians ; that he must be

¹ *C. S. P.*, 1666-9, p. 654.

² *Barrett Book*, p. 313.

present at three anatomical dissections ; that he must on four occasions successfully carry to a conclusion the cure of different diseases ; that after frequent attendance in the laboratories of the apothecaries he must thoroughly know and keep clearly in his mind all the simples and the drugs compounded from those simples that are met with in the laboratories ; and lastly that he must on three occasions respond and as many times oppose in his faculty.

' When all these requirements have been fulfilled then he can be dignified by the title of Doctor of Medicine.

' If some failure prevents the fulfilment of any one of these requirements then the same course is to be adopted as has been prescribed in the Statute concerning the Doctors of Law.'

With regard to the position of Medical Fellow, we find the following statute adopted by Provost Bedell : ¹

De Admittendis in Collegium Professoribus Jurisprudentiae et Medicinae. Cap. 17.

' Whereas the study of Jurisprudence and Medicine is both in accordance with the Charter of the foundation of the College and the current statutes of Colleges in England, and in as much as it is not only a fitting distinction for any body of students into which it is admitted, but also as it imparts a singular utility both to the Church and the State ; Therefore our will and pleasure is that it be lawful that one of the Fellows be specially selected by the decision of the Provost and the majority of the Senior Fellows for the teaching of Jurisprudence and another for the study of Medicine, such appointment to be entered upon immediately after election, or within six months after taking out the degree of Master. But if it happen that such appointment be made before admission to that degree, our will is that the clause in the

¹ Mahaffy, *Epoch*, p. 357.

Oath (*de fine studiorum*) be omitted by him who is elected ; or that the terms " Jurisprudence " or " Medicine " be respectively inserted therein instead of the term " Theology ". And as regards the duties required of the Clerical Fellows during each term, it is our will that such be not remitted in the case of the Professors of Jurisprudence and of Medicine, but that such be duly performed by them, just as if they were Commonplaces or Theological Disputations. Moreover it is our will that every Professor of Law and Medicine upon the completion of the first year of his Professorship deliver prelections in his faculty once in each term.'

Laud, in the Caroline Statutes, which were given to the College in 1637, modifies this as follows :

' But our Will is that no one be compelled to these Studies against his Will, but that one be chosen who makes choice of these Studies respectively, if such a one can be found among the Fellows ; but if no one be willing to quit Divinity, and apply himself to these Studies, in that Case our Will is, that the Fellow who is the youngest Master of Arts be always chosen ; and if he who is so chosen refuses to take upon him that Profession, he shall be *ipso facto* expelled from this our College.' ¹

Though the first evidence we have of the statute relating to the medical fellowship is in the time of Bedell, it is certain that such a position existed at a much earlier date. In the Barrett MSS.,² under the date of October 24, 1618, it is stated : ' Sir Temple (probably John, afterwards Master of the Rolls, and the Provost's son) and Sir Kelly were chosen junior Fellows. The first of them for the Physician's Place, the other for the Pro-

¹ Bolton, *Statutes*, p. 80.

² *Barrett Book*, p. 151.

fession of a Divine.' Again, on December 6, 1620, Thomas Beere 'was chosen Fellow for the Physician's Place'.¹

Neither Temple nor Beere, however, took medical degrees in the University, and there is no evidence that either of them had any medical qualifications. Temple, who was born in 1600, became Master of the Rolls in 1640, was created Knight and Privy Councillor (Ireland), and sat as M.P. for Chichester in the English Parliament, and afterwards for Carlow in the Irish Parliament. He was the author of the *History of the Irish Rebellion* published in London in 1646. He was the father of Sir William Temple, Bt., the celebrated statesman and grandfather of Henry, first Viscount Palmerston, so created March 12, 1722. John Temple died November 14, 1677, and was buried at the foot of the Provost's seat in the old College Chapel.² Of Thomas Beere we know little, except that he took his B.A. in the summer of 1614, and his M.A. in 1620.³

In spite of these regulations for medical studies there seems to have been no graduate in medicine in the University for many years. In a description of the public commencements held in 1616, in St. Patrick's Cathedral, we are told that during the twenty-three years since the foundation of the University there had been one degree granted in Physic,⁴ but of this there is no record in the

¹ *Barrett Book*, p. 151.

² Ware, vol. ii, p. 350; *T. C. D. Cal.*

³ *Todd's Roll*.

⁴ Taylor, *Hist. T. C. D.*, p. 16.

University Register, or in the Roll of Graduates published by Todd.

The study of medicine in Ireland was not, however, lost sight of, as we may see by the letter of Charles I, to the Lord Deputy Falkland, dated Westminster, August 5, 1626. In this letter the king speaks of the zeal which his father 'always had to reduce the Kingdom of Ireland to civility, and to an uniform manner of Government with the realm of England', and then goes on to say :

'Wee, therefore, in imitation of so Royall an example have now taken into our consideration that the establishing and practice of Learning and humane Sciences is not a little available thereunto; and amongst others that laudable and necessary art of Physick, the practise whereof, as we are informed, is daily abused in that our Kingdom by wandering, ignorant montebanks and Empyricks, who for want of restraint do much abound to the daily impaireing of the healths, and Hazarding of the Lives in generall of our good Subjects there. For the Reformation of which abuse, Wee think it fitt, upon your recommendation, and hereby doe require and authorize you, with the advice of some of our learned Councill there, by Letters patents to be made and past from us, our Heirs and successors, under the great seale of that our Realme—To erect in our Citty of Dublin, in that our Kingdom, a colledge, society corporation of Physicians, according to the Rule and forme of the Charter heretofore granted to the Physicians in our Citty of London for the incorporating of them.'¹

The intended College was to be given power to purchase lands to the annual value of forty pounds

¹ Gilbert, *Hist.*, vol. iii, p. 10; Smith, *Origin Col. P.*, p. 89; Belcher, *Mem. Stearne*, p. 18.

Irish, and was to make laws for the government of physicians practising in Dublin, or within twenty miles thereof.

This matter also was engaging the attention of Provost Bedell, as may be seen by the following letters.¹

Writing from London, April 1, 1628, to Archbishop James Usher, concerning College affairs, he says :

‘ And shortly it seems to me, that with one labour, the University might be brought into a more perfect form, and yet without touching our Charter. At my being in *Dublin*, there came to me one Dr. *deLaune* a Physician, bred in *Immanuel Colledg* : Who in speech with me, discovered their purpose to procure a Patent, like to that which the Colledg of Physicians hath in *London*. I noted the thing, and partly by that occasion, and partly also the desire of the Fellows, to extend their time of stay in the Colledg ; I have drawn a Plot of my Thoughts in that behalf, which I send your Grace herewith. I have imparted the same generally to my Lord of *Canterbury* ; who desireth that your Grace would seriously consider of it, and, to use his own words, *That it may be weighed with Gold Weights* ; and if it be found fit, will concur thereto when the time shall be. I could have wished to have been present with you at the survey of it, to have rendred the reason of some things, which will now perhaps be ἐρημὰ βοηθήσαντος ; but your Wisdom, Experience, and Knowledg of the Place, will easily pierce through, and disperse all those Mists which perhaps overcloud my understanding ; and howsoever I shall hereby, *dare sapienti occasionem*.’

Writing again to the Archbishop from ‘ Hornin-gerth, April the 15th, 1628,’ Bedell says :

‘ I suppose it hath been an Error all this while, to neglect the Faculties of Law and Physick, and attend

¹ Parr, p. 388.

only to the ordering of one poor Colledg of Divines ; whereas, with a little more labour, and a few Privileges attained, a great many more good Wits might have been allured to study, and seasoned with Piety, and made Instruments for the bringing in Learning, Civility, and Religion, into that Country. I did communicate the Plat to my Lord of *Canterbury*, at my first being with him, especially in that point of admitting all Students that should be matriculated, though they lodg in *Dublin* in private Houses ; and of the four Faculties, with their several Promoters, &c., who seemed not to dislike it ; but required it should be maturely thought of, by your Grace and the University, and promised his assistance if it were found fit. At the same time I left with him the Statutes of our Colledg, which I had this Winter written out with mine own hand, and caused to be fair bound. He retained them with him till the very morning of my departing from *London*. At the same time he signified his good approbation of the whole ; only accounted that too strait, for the *Provost's absence but six weeks*, whereas many Causes there should be, which would require longer discontinuance. I shewed his Grace, that Colledg-Business was excepted, and that we had not innovated any thing in that Statute, it being so before my Election. Another Point he disliked, was, touching Students wearing Gowns always in the Colledg, *and if it might be when they went into Town*. Whereas that of all other (said he) would have been provided for. I answered, The Streets in *Dublin* are very foul, and that by the Statutes, Scholars were not permitted to go ordinarily into the Town, without their Tutors consent. He said, they might, if the Streets were never so foul, take their Gowns under their Arms. I told him that this was also an old Statute, e're I came there.'¹

Writing from ' Horningherth this 17th of January 1627/8 ', to ' Mr. Dr. Ward, Master of Sidney

¹ Parr, p. 391.

Colledge,' Bedell makes inquiries about the University of Cambridge, and asks :

' To what vse your matriculation money is put : and how the Schooles were first founded, and are yet repaired, if you haue vnderstood what summes of money Professors of Law or Physick do pay to the University for their chairs, and whether the Professors of Divinity do the like or not. Whether the Physitians and lawiers do make any Profession at their taking Degrees of Dr., as Divines do. And the copy of the Profession of Divinity if you can conveniently come by it.' ¹

Bedell, however, was appointed Bishop of Kilmore in 1629, and at once resigned his position as Provost, and nothing more seems to have come of these proposals at the time. During the next thirty years the College records are silent on medical matters except for the mention made in the Statutes of Charles I in 1637.

In the first fifty years of her existence Trinity College had hardly justified the hopes formed at her foundation as far as medicine was concerned. Medicine was still much in the same condition as it was when Bacon, writing in the beginning of the seventeenth century, says of it :

' Medicine therefore (as we have seen) hitherto hath been such, as hath been more professed, than laboured ; and yet more laboured than advanced ; seeing the pains bestowed thereon, hath been rather in a circle, than in progression. For I find much Iteration but small Addition in Writers of that Faculty.' ²

Dermod O'Meara, writing in 1619 to the Lord Deputy, Sir Oliver St. John, gives us an interesting

¹ Shuckburgh, p. 274.

² *Advan. of Learning*, p. 121.

glimpse of medical practice in Dublin at the time. O'Meara,¹ a poet and a physician, was born in the County Tipperary and educated at Oxford. He says :

'There are certainly more persons in Dublin at the present day practising the Art of Medicine than any other art, yet there are very few of them who have the six qualifications which Hippocrates requires in a Medical Doctor. Here, not only cursed mountebanks, ignorant barbers, and shameless quack compounders, but also persons of every other craft whatsoever, loose women, and those of the dregs of humanity who are either tired of their own proper art and craft or inflamed with an unbridled passion for making money, all have free leave to profane the holy temple of Asculapius. Here might not one justly exclaim in the words of the poet

Here are those
Who, groping in the dark, are licensed still
To rack the sick, and murder men at will.

Malpractice, indeed, takes place in every country in the world, but not everywhere with impunity. In every well governed city and state legal precaution is taken that no one should essay medical practice unless one who is duly qualified by the public certificate and authorisation of some University. In these Cities and States no barber dares to open a vein, no compounder dares to sell medicines, much less to attend patients, without a medical Doctor's prescription. Thrice happy were this royal city of ours—thrice happy our whole state—had they the benefit of such wise legal precautions.'²

In contrast with this we may put the statement of John Baptist van Helmont, who was born in 1577 and died in 1644. In the collected edition

¹ Ware, p. 108.

² Gilbert, *Hist.*, vol. i, p. 428.

of his works, first published after his death in 1648, in the *Confessio Authoris*, we read :¹

‘ For I remember that the Chieftains of Ireland used each to give a piece of land to a ‘ healer ’ who lived with them—not one who had come back trained from the Universities, but one who could really make sick people well. Each such healer, I may mention, has a book crammed with specific remedies bequeathed to him by his forefathers. Accordingly he who inherits the book inherits also the piece of land. This book describes the symptoms of ailments and the country remedies used for each ; and the people of Ireland are cured more successfully when ill, and have generally far better health than the people of Italy, who in the several village communities have their practitioners living on the blood of their unhappy patients. Therefore I said to myself :—“ What foolish mistake has mislead you ; you may have thought out what is destined to be a great moment for your neighbour, although Universities have scoffed at your poor dissertations and trampled them under foot ; and even though it has not been for your own vain-glory’s sake that you have written them, still all efforts are vain whose issue rests only in the hands of men.” ’

The Rebellion in 1641, followed by the Civil War in England and the Commonwealth, put an end for the time to all hope of improvement, but the seeds so carefully sown by Temple and Bedell were to bear good fruit after the Restoration of Charles II.

¹ *Op. omnia*, 1682, p. 13.

CHAPTER III

TRINITY HALL

IN the Assembly Rolls of the Corporation of Dublin for ' the Second Friday after Easter, 1604 ', Easter Day being on the 8th of April, 1604, there is the following record :¹

' Whereas Mr. Doctor Challinor, Mr. John King, Mr. James Ware, and Mr. James Carroll did in last Christmas assembly prefer a petition to undertake to build a Bridewell near this city, which is now in building ; and whereas the same is a chargeable work, and is to be furthered by everyone that hath a feeling of the good which thereby will redound to the city in particular, and generally to the whole kingdom : ordered, that, for the above purpose, an estate in fee-simple be granted, under the city seal, to three persons to be nominated by the Mayor, and three by the petitioners, of so much land as shall be thought convenient in the Hoggen Green, from the gate in the north towards Tirrells Park in the south, and from the wall leading from the gate in the west towards the Butts eastward. The building to be named Bridewell, and to be a place of punishment for offenders, and for putting idle persons to work ; regulations to correspond with those of London Bridewell ; master and officials to be appointed by and under jurisdiction of Mayor, Sheriffs, commons and citizens ; the building to be used solely as a Bridewell. The ground, according to the survey, contains in breadth one hundred and twelve yards, in length thirty-three yards.'

¹ *C. A. R.*, vol. ii, p. 420.

In the following January¹ the 'Undertakers of the Newe Bridewell' asked for an amendment of the conditions agreed upon in 'the conveighans' which was to be passed between them and the city, and this was agreed to.

It would appear that the house was never used for the purpose it was intended for, and the builder, George Breddam, petitioned the Privy Council for the repayment of the money he had advanced on the building. The matter was referred to arbitrators, who decided that £40 should be paid to Breddam, provided he handed over the house in perfect order. A rehearing of the case was however granted, and the Mayor and James Ware were appointed arbitrators. They reported that Breddam was content to take £32 in payment of all his claims, but neither the Corporation nor the original undertakers were willing to pay the sum, and consequently the Lord Deputy offered the place to Trinity College for £30.²

In pursuance of this offer we find in the *Assembly Rolls* :³

On the 'Fourth Friday after the 24 June, 1615' it was agreed by the Corporation 'that the Provost and felloes of the Trynity Colledge, near Dublin, at the request of the right honorable the lord deputy,⁴ and in consyderacion of the remittall of the fyne of fyfty powndes imposed uppon this city for the escape of Thomas Russell, the younger, shall have the precincts of the howse, called Bridewell uppon the Hogges Green, with

¹ C. A. R., p. 433.

² Gilbert, *Hist.*, vol. iii, p. 8 ; Smith, *Origin Col. P.*, p. 87.

³ C. A. R., vol. iii, p. 57.

⁴ Sir Arthur Chichester.

thappurtenances, at the yearly rent of two shillings, to be used and converted by them onely for a free schoole, and not otherwyse, the said assurance to be made forthwith. Provided that yf the said howse be, at any time heerafter, without the privity and assent of the Maior, Sheryfes, commons and cittizens of this citty, converted to any other use than for a schoole howse, that then it shall revert againe to the cittie in such manner as nowe they have it, soe as they repaie the fyfty powndes soe forgiven them for the said escape.'

This holding so granted to the College was then named Trinity Hall. The exact site has not been clearly defined, but it is figured as 'Bridewell' in Speed's map of Dublin, published in 1610, situated on the south side of Dame Street, somewhere between the present Exchequer Street and Trinity Street. Gilbert¹ says that a portion of the site was afterwards occupied by the Almshouse of St. Andrew's parish.

Trinity Hall was then opened by the College as a residence house for some of the students, for whom there was insufficient room in the College buildings, just as later, in 1629, Kildare Hall and a house in Bride Street were opened for a similar purpose. It was placed in charge of a Rector, and the students were to attend in the College for exercises, disputations, and meals. The plan does not seem to have worked well, and at the time of the Rebellion the Hall seems to have been almost abandoned by the College. In the *Register* for February 20, 1661,² it is stated that, 'In processe

¹ Gilbert, *Hist.*, vol. iii, p. 17.

² *Reg.*, vol. iii, p. 65.

of the warre the sd. Hall was by poore people occupied and in a mañer ruinated the sd. College being not in a condition to looke after itt or wholley neglecting it.'

When peace was restored during the Commonwealth, the city fathers decided to resume possession of the Hall, 'because it was not imploy'd to the use intended.'

The College authorities were then in a difficulty, as they could not afford to repair the Hall themselves, but were anxious not to lose their title to it from the city. In this difficulty a proposal¹ was made about the year 1654 to the 'pretended' Provost and Fellows for a lease from them of Trinity Hall and the ground thereunto belonging by Colonel Markham and Dr. John Kerdiff, who promised to secure the title of the College 'against the Citty & to repair the sd. Hall'. The *Register* goes on to say :

'This motion was opposed by Dr. John Stearne and was quash'd by his alledging and proving that to make a lease of the premises would be more directly contrary to the intent of the conveyance of the premises upon the sd College, then any former either inability or neglect & consequently give greater colour and advantage to the Citty to prosecute theyer design.

'This motion being laid aside, the sd John Stearne moves the sd pretended Provost & Fellowes that hee might be by them constituted President of the sd Hall during his naturall life & accomodated with certain lodgings therein, upon several conditions, whereof three were, to keep out the Citty, & to repair the sd Hall, without charge to the College (which our college at that

¹ *Reg.*, vol. iii, p. 65.

time was not able to defray) and to convert the remainder to what should be unto him allotted for his own accommodation, unto the sole and proper use of Physicians. Upon acceptance of this proposall the sd John Stearne was made President of the sd Hall by the then pretended Provost & Fellowes and accomodated with a certaine number of roomes therein, & the sd John Stearne took of the Citty from persecuting theyer designe, laid out of his own purse above an hundred pounds in repairing the sd Hall, and procured disbursements from others for accomodating Physicians with a convenient place to meete in, in order to the erection of a College of Physicians as soone as possibly itt could be effected. Thus the case stood untill his Majesty's happy restoration.'

It should be remembered when dealing with the period of the Commonwealth that the Provost and Fellows of the College who had held office in the time of the late king were all dispossessed, and a new Provost and new Fellows appointed. At the restoration of the King it was considered that these persons had not been legally elected to the offices they held, and they are always referred to as the 'Pretended Provost and Fellows'. Those of the Fellows who were continued in their places at the Restoration were re-sworn, just as if they had never been elected before.

John Stearne, one of the 'pretended Fellows', was the most remarkable man of his time in Trinity College. Some record of his life has been published in Harris's edition of Ware's *Writers*, by Aquilla Smith in his *Account of the Origin of the College of Physicians*, in Belcher's *Records of the College of Physicians*, and by Professor Mahaffy in

his sermon in the College Chapel on Trinity Monday, 1907,¹ and in his *Epoch of Irish History*.

Stearne came of a stock whose members on both sides were distinguished for learning. His father, John Stearne, was a scion of the same family as Richard Sterne, Archbishop of York, who died at the age of 87 in 1683. This John Stearne came to Ireland and married a daughter of Margaret Birmingham, a sister of James Usher, who had been elected Fellow of Trinity College in 1600 and Archbishop of Armagh in 1624. James Usher's connexion with the College was most intimate. His mother was a daughter of James Stanihurst, Speaker of the Irish House of Commons in the reigns of Queens Mary and Elizabeth, who in the latter reign had made the first motion in Parliament for the foundation of Trinity College. James Usher's uncle, Henry Usher, was Archbishop of Armagh in 1595, and was nominated the first Fellow of the College in the Charter of Elizabeth. This Henry Usher's son, Robert, succeeded Bedell as Provost in 1629.

John Stearne was born on the 26th November, 1624, at Ardbraconn, in County Meath, at the home of his grand-uncle, James Usher, who was then Bishop of Meath. He tells us that as ² a 'boy he was well and liberally educated but where is not worth telling'. He entered Trinity College at the age of fifteen on the 22nd May, 1639, and was allowed a scholarship in 1641. There is no record in the College of his having taken any further

¹ *Irish Times*, May 28, 1907.

² Mahaffy, *Sermon*.

degrees there, and on the breaking out of the Rebellion he left the country and went to Cambridge, bringing with him a recommendation from Archbishop Usher to Samuel Ward, the Master of Sidney College. There he remained some years, till, driven out by the troubles of the times, he took refuge for a time in Oxford, where he was received by Seth Ward, Fellow of Wadham College. While in Cambridge Stearne must have studied medicine, and he probably had every facility for doing so in Sidney College, which was at the time the College chiefly frequented by medical students. Driven from Oxford as he had been from Cambridge by the stress of the times, Stearne returned to Dublin. It has been suggested that Stearne had been elected a Fellow of Trinity College about the year 1644 while he was at Cambridge, but of this there is no direct evidence. It seems more probable, as Dr. Mahaffy¹ suggests, that he was induced to return by Samuel Winter, who was made Provost about 1650 or 1651, and the way was prepared for his return by the following Order in Council,² dated 'Dub. 22d Octob 1651':

'Ordered that Mr. John Stearne be admitted into Trinity Colledge neere Dublin as One of the Fellowes there for six monthes from the date hereof, in wch time the said Mr Stearne is to produce Testimonialls of his former carriage and good affection to the Parliamt from godly and honest persons in England, either att Cambridge or in Bedfordshire where the said Mr. Stearnes last abode was.'

¹ Mahaffy, *Sermon*.

² *Council Books of the Commonwealth*, vol. xlii, Orders, 1651-3, p. 46.

At all events we have him signing the Register of the College as 'Registrarius', and therefore a Senior Fellow, on September 3, 1652. There was at this time a great epidemic of plague raging in the city, and Stearne may have felt that his medical skill would ensure him a cordial and remunerative welcome. He appears to have at once entered on medical practice, for in the *College Register* of the 22nd May, 1655,¹ there is the following entry :

' We ye Provost & Senior ffellows of Trinity Colledge neere Dublin at ye request of John Stearne, senior ffellow of ye sd Colledge, doe for, and in consideration of the sd John Stearne his practice in physicke hereby give and grante vnto the sd John Stearne full liberty to lye in the Cyty of Dublin or els where, when so ever in his discretion his physicall employments shall require his absence any night from the Colledge.'

This minute is signed by the Provost, the Vice-Provost, and three Senior Fellows.

On the 24th November, 1656, Stearne was elected Professor of Hebrew. There was some dispute between him and the Board about the salary of this Professorship, and, in spite of a letter from the Chancellor of the University, Henry Cromwell, in favour of Stearne, the Board refused to pay the full amount, and on the 17th November, 1659, there is the following minute in the *College Register*²: 'Memorandum, that Dr. John Stearne, Dr. of Physique resigned his Fellowship.' It is said that the prospect of the coming Restoration of

¹ *Reg.*, vol. ii, p. 84.

² *Ibid.*, vol. ii, p. 91.

the king had more to say to Stearne's resignation than his dispute on the salary of the Hebrew Professorship. At all events, in the king's letter, dated 'Whitehall December 29 1660', we find Stearne nominated Senior Fellow of the College, but associated with him Nathaniel Hoyle as Vice-Provost; Caesar Williamson, Public Orator; Joshua Cowley, Jurist; each of whom had held a fellowship during the Commonwealth.

On January 22, 1660/1, Stearne, with the others, took the oath as a Senior Fellow,¹ and on January 29 following he was again elected Registrar.² Almost immediately Stearne proceeded to carry out his plan for establishing a Fraternity of Physicians in Trinity Hall, and the *Register*³ of February 18, 1660/1, contains the following proposals :

'The humble proposalls of John Stearn unto the worshipfull ye Provost & Sr. Fellows of Trinity Colledge neere Dublin :

'1. That Trinity Hall with the land thereunto belonging may be set apart in perpetuum for the advancemt of ye study of Physick in Ireland.

'2. That in pursuance of ye sayd designe John Stearn bee constituted President of the sd Hall for and during his naturall life.

'3. That the nomination of a President of ye sayd Hall upon vacancies bee always in the Provost & Senr. Fellows aforesd & their successours.

'4. That the sd John Stearne may accomodate himselfe with gardening upon the ground belonging to the sd Hall, & with chambers out of the present building, or out of such as hereafter shall be raised upon the ground unto ye sd Hall appertaining.

¹ *Reg.*, vol. iii, p. 49.

² *Ibid.*, p. 52.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 59.

' 5. That the President of ye sd Hall shall call into a fraternity able Physitians who together with him are desired to endeavour to advance moneys for additional buildings to ye sd Hall, & to procure a Charter for to be a body Corporate with privileges.

' 6. That all the students of Physicke in ye sd Hall shall until ye Presidente of the sd Hall, & the fraternity thereof bee made a body corporate by chart. bee bound to come to prayers in Trinity Colledge aforesd & to performe exercises there according to their severall capacities.

' 7. That the President & Fraternity of ye sd Hall shall, if demanded meet & consult upon the best means for the recovery of ye Provost & Senior Fellows aforesd & their successours, whensoever any of them shall happen to be sicke.

' 8. That no students be admitted into ye sd Hall, but such as are first admitted or incorporated into ye Trinity Colledge aforesd : John Stearn.

' These proposals were approved of by ye Provost & Senr. Fellows of Trinity Colledge aforesd and it is by them ordered that according to ye Tenor of ye sayd proposalls an Instrument be drawne up in due forme of law.

' Thom. Seele Prp. Nat. Hoyl Vice Prep.

' Joshua Cowley.

' Witt. Vincent.

' Pat. Sheridan.'

These proposals were accepted, and the Board of the College adopted the following resolution :¹

' Trinity Hall appropriated to the study of Physicke by an Instrument which is as followeth :—

' " To all christian people to whom this present writinge shall come. We, ye Provost, Fellowes and Scholars of the Colledge of ye Holy and vndivided Trinity of Queene Elizabeth neere Dublin, send greetinge.

¹ *Reg.*, vol. iii, p. 53.

Whereas ye study of Physicke is found very necessary for ye publique good, and noe course hitherto hath been taken for ye advancemt. thereof in Ireland, know ye yt we the Provost Fellowes and Scholars aforesd being desirous to promote soe necessary a pointe of learninge in Ireland doe for our selves and our successours vnanimously consent assent and agree and by these presents declare our will to be yt the messuage or house unto us belonging and now in our possession comonly knowne and called by the name of Trinity Hall scituate lyinge and beinge neere the City of Dublin in Hoggen Greene together with all the gardens orchards curtelages lands and all other the appurtenances thereunto belonginge be from henceforth for ever converted to ye sole and proper use and advantage of the study of Medicine and of such as shall therein studye or professe ye same. And for that end and purpose We doe hereby nominat constitute and appoint John Stearne Doctor in Physicke and Senr. Fellow of Trinity Colledge aforesaid President of ye said Hall for & dureinge his naturall life And doe further impower ye sd John Stearne to accomodate himselfe with gardening upon ye ground unto ye sd Hall belonginge and wth Chambers out of ye present buildinge or out of such buildings as hereafter shall be raysed upon ye ground unto ye sd Hall belonginge, reaservinge unto ourselves and successors for ever ye nomination of a President of ye said Hall upon vacancy of ye Presidentship Provided always yt ye said John Stearne call unto a fraternity able Physitians who together wth him are hereby desired to endeavour to advance moneyes for additional building to ye said Hall and to procure a charter for to be a body corporate with priviledges And yt untill such time as ye President and Fraternity of ye sd Hall shall be made a body corporate All the students of ye sd Hall shall be bound to come to prayers in Trinity College aforesd and to performe exercises therein accordinge to their severall capacityes Provided alsoe that ye President and Fraternity of ye said Hall shall if demanded

meete and consult upon the best meanes for ye recovery of ye Provost and Senior Fellowes of Trinity Colledge aforesd and theire successors whensoever they or any of them shall happen to be sicke And yt the President of ye sd Hall admitt noe students into ye sd Hall but such as are first admitted or incorporated into Trinity Colledge afforesaid. In witness whereof we have here unto sett our comon seale and subscribed our names this two and twentieth day of ffebruary one thousand six hundred and sixty.

<p>“Signed sealed & delivered in ye presence of Arthur Parsons Arthur Bulkely.</p>	<p>Tho : Seele prp : Nath. Hoyle Vice p. Joshua Cowley. Will. Vincent. Pat. Sheridan.</p>	<p>Memorandū that this above deed was cancelled, and with the exception of what was set unto Mr. Sams, & some other small variation, was renewed signed and sealed ye 22 of April, 1661.”</p>
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Locus sigilli.

On March the 19th¹ the Board agreed that ‘the sd John Stearne shall not be penally obliged to be present at College-prayers unlesse he be thereunto specially required. And that he receive his Commons in money.’

On the 3rd June, 1662,² Stearne was ‘constituted and elected publiq professor of Medicine in the University of Dublin for & during his naturall life’.

Just before the Restoration we have the record of a medical degree granted by the University on ‘July 23 1660.’³ Ordered by the Viceprovost &

¹ *Reg.*, vol. iii, p. 54.

² *Ibid.*, p. 68.

³ *Ibid.*, vol. ii, p. 99.

Sen. Fellows of Trin. Coll. Dublin that Mr. John Archer bee passed Dr. of Physicke in the house it being provided that he pay whatsoever fees are usual for such a degree and performe his acts when he shall be called thereunto.'

Just a year previously, 'on June 20, 1659, John Tailor, seven years a student at Magdalen College, and John Clearke, also of Oxford are admitted M.D., being recommended by the Chancellor Henry Cromwell, *in pleno Senatu Academico*.'¹

Stearne was not slow to fulfil his obligations to 'call into a fraternity able Physitians', for on the 26th January, 1660/1,² Johannes Cusacke was promoted and Drs. Bramhall, Halle, and Lamb Goughman were incorporated 'Doctores in Medicina', Dr. Goughman, or Gogleman, was in accordance with the King's letter elected Senior Fellow three days later.³

Having succeeded in his enterprise with regard to Trinity Hall, Stearne then attempted to obtain a Royal Charter for the College, but in this he was not immediately successful. Under the date of January 28, 1665, there is in the *Calendar of State Papers*⁴ the 'note of a letter to the Lord Lieutenant for a College of Physicians in Ireland', but the charter was not granted till August 8, 1667. In this charter Stearne was nominated President for life, and after his death the Presidents were to be elected by the Provost, Fellows, and Scholars of Trinity College, subject to the approval of the

¹ Mahaffy, *Epoch*, p. 304.

² *Reg. ibid.*, p. 52.

³ *Reg.*, vol. iii, p. 51.

⁴ *C. S. P.* 1663-5, p. 600.

Lord-Lieutenant, and provided that Trinity Hall and the lands belonging thereto were settled on the newly incorporated College. On the application of Stearne, the Provost and Fellows executed a deed dated August 13, 1668, settling Trinity Hall on Matthew Barry and Launcelot Sandes, Esquires, in trust for the sole use of the College of Physicians.

Thus was established the College of Physicians, which at its inception was an integral part of Trinity College, and which, ever since, has maintained its connexion with the University. The Presidency of the College was in the hands of the University authorities, and no one was to be admitted a student within its walls until he had first been enrolled a student of Trinity College. As the Registrar of Trinity College records in the minutes :¹

‘ Trinity Hall is not alienated from Trinity College : but by this converted into the use intended. And it may be considered that, after the death of the said John Stearne, and perhaps before, there will be accomodation for Students of the Coll: of Physicians (and) they are as considerable a proportion of Scholars as any number of Undergraduates wherewith the said Hall was heretofore stored, and as useful to the whole Kingdom.’

In 1663² the Lord-Lieutenant had forwarded to the King a letter for his signature, granting ‘ £60 a year to Dr. Stearne by letters patent as Public Professor of Physic in the University of Dublin to be put upon the Establishment ’. This letter was

¹ *Reg.*, vol. iii, p. 65.

² *C. S. P.* 1663-5, p. 39.

accompanied by a note of recommendation from the Lord-Lieutenant, and on March 20 of the same year there is a letter from the King to the Lord-Lieutenant directing the pension of £60 a year given to Dr. Stearne, who was public Professor of Physic in the University of Dublin by patents passed on the 18th September, 1662, in consequence of letter dated 18th June, 1662, to be placed on the establishment.¹

Stearne did not live long to enjoy the fruits of his work, or nurture the College in its early youth, for he died on the 18th November, 1669, at the early age of 45.

The remaining facts in the life of Stearne, so far as they are known, can be told in a few words. We learn from the *Register of Cambridge University* that John Stearne matriculated as a pensioner there on July 8, 1642, and was in the same year admitted to the degree of Bachelor of Arts, and in 1646 to that of Master. It appears that his matriculation was deferred until he was in a position to proceed to the B.A. degree, a procedure which was not unusual in the seventeenth century. There is no record in the *Register* of his having taken any degree in Dublin, though it is almost certain that he took his doctor's degree in both laws and medicine. In his published works he styles himself 'M. & J. U. D.', or 'Medicinae, et Juris Utriusque, Doctor'.

In 1659, just at the time of his dispute with the Board about his salary as Hebrew Lecturer,

¹ C. S. P., 1663-5; p. 46.

Stearne married Miss Dorothy Ryves, daughter of Charles Ryves, Esq., and it was possibly this, and not either the dispute or the anticipation of the Restoration, which led to the resignation of his fellowship on November 17 of that year. The statute enforcing celibacy on the Fellows was not, however, at this time strictly enforced, and the Provost, Samuel Winter, was a married man. Belcher states¹ that at the Restoration Stearne was appointed Public Professor of Laws, but of this we can find no evidence in the *College Register*, and his name does not appear as such in the *College Calendar*. He was, however, re-elected Lecturer in Hebrew, for on December 17, 1667, we find a deputy appointed for him 'to execute the said office according to the Statutes'.²

Stearne had one son and two daughters who survived him. His son John was born in 1660, and was afterwards Dean of St. Patrick's and Bishop of Clogher. It is to the munificence of this John Stearne that Trinity College owes its printing-house, which he built in 1726 at a cost of £1,000, and for which ten years later he gave £200 to buy types. Stearne's eldest daughter, Bridget, married John Rotton, of Dublin, while his second daughter, Mabell, married a Mr. Hall.

Stearne's will, which is dated November 14, 1669, is witnessed by the Provost, Thomas Seele, and his friend, Henry Dodwell, and in it he says: 'I desire (if the Provost and Senior Fellows shall think fitt) that my body may be interred in

¹ Belcher, *Memoirs*, p. 20.

² *Reg.*, vol. iii, p. 111.

Trinity College Chapell, if not where my dear wife shall otherwise conceive meet without escuteon and other unnecessary charges.' This desire was carried out, and over him at the north side of the great altar ¹ was erected a stone bearing a tribute to his memory, composed by his friend Henry Dodwell.

Stearne's wife, Dorothy, survived him till 1700, and in her will, which is dated April 24, 1700, and was proved on the 27th of May following, she says : ' I bequeath to Dr. Ralph Howard and Dr. John Madden, who tended me in my sickness, the sum of five pounds each as tokens of the mind I have of their kind care of me.'

Few men have compressed into a short life of forty-five years so much learning and so much work as did John Stearne, and whether we judge him by his own learning and his own work, or by the benefit which that work has conferred on posterity, we must award him a high place. Trinity College may well be proud of her great son, and it is fitting that, at the bicentenary celebration of the foundation of the Medical School, an honoured place should be given to the memory of him who by his work made that foundation possible.

¹ ' Epitaphium Marmoris insculptum ad latus Boreale magni Altaris in Sacello Collegii S.S. & Individ. Trinitatis Reginae Elizabethae juxta Dublin. ubi Sepultus jacet.'

Prefixed to Stearne's *De Obstinatione*, by the editor, Henry Dodwell, who published it in 1672.

CHAPTER IV

THE CLOSE OF THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

STEARNE being dead, the Medical Faculty of the University was left without its Professor and the College of Physicians without its President. Almost immediately, November 25, 1669, George Walker, one of the Fellows, was elected 'Medicus', a post which seems to have been in abeyance since the time of Thomas Beere, who was appointed in 1620. In the *College Calendar* Stearne is given as 'Medicus' in 1662, but there is no record of such appointment in the *College Register*. Walker died in less than a year, and was succeeded, October 26, 1670, by William Palliser, afterwards Archbishop of Cashel, and on September 9, 1671, George Mercer was 'chosen in medicum'. Neither Walker nor Palliser was a medical man, and Mercer did not take a medical degree till 1681. Thomas Margetson appears to have succeeded Stearne as Professor of Medicine, for though there is no direct mention in the College books of his appointment, we read¹ on April 2, 1674, that 'upon the death of Dr. Tho. Margetson Ralph Howard, Dr. of Physick, was elected Public Professor of Physic in his place and President of the College of Physicians'.

¹ *Reg.*, vol. iii, p. 171.

Howard held the office of Professor for thirty-six years, till he was succeeded in 1710 by Richard Steevens. Ralph Howard was the first Fellow of the College of Physicians elected under the Charter of Charles II. He graduated M.D. in the University on October 22, 1667, and at the same time became a Fellow of the College of Physicians ; being elected President for the first time on April 2, 1674, and again elected in 1686, 1695, 1701, and 1707. Howard was born in Wicklow¹ in 1638, and lived afterwards in Great Ship Street, Dublin. During the war of 1689-91 he left the country and resided in England. His son Hugh was an artist who, according to Horace Walpole, practised painting 'at least with applause'.² His other son, Robert, was a Senior Fellow of Trinity College, and afterwards became Bishop of Killala and then of Elphin. Sir Thomas Molyneux in 1694 married one of Dr. Howard's daughters, and Anthony Dopping, Bishop of Ossory, the other.

Thomas Margetson was an Englishman, the son of James Margetson of Yorkshire.³ He entered Trinity College on May 5, 1647, but left apparently without taking a degree. In the latter end of 1650 he entered at St. Mary's Hall, Oxford, and from that college took the two degrees in Arts. On the 10th March, 1656/7, he took the degree of Bachelor of Medicine at Montpelier,⁴ and eight

¹ O'Donoghue, *Irish Ability*, p. 62.

² Webb.

³ Wood, *Athenae*, vol. ii, p. 795.

⁴ Munk's *Roll*, vol. i, p. 280.

days later proceeded to that of Doctor of Medicine in the University of Orange. He was incorporated at Oxford on his doctor's degree on the 14th January, 1657/8, and on the 5th of April following was admitted a candidate of the London College of Physicians.

The death of Stearne must have made a great difference in the affairs of the College of Physicians. He had been its President since its foundation, and, as we have seen, had lived in Trinity Hall. Difficulties no doubt arose after his death, and the Fellows had no precedent to guide them in their actions. It was not till the 25th January, 1671/2, that we find them taking any steps to elect a new President. On that day 'Dr. Margetson and Dr. Howard gave notice to the Provost in the name of the Corporation of Physicians that the Presidentship of the said Corporation is void by theyer Charter and desired that a new President might be elected'.¹ The Provost and Senior-Fellows beeing legally & statutablely mett', nominated and elected 'Abraham Yarner Kt. & Dr. of Physicke President of the said College of Physicians', and on Monday the 15th February following a formal document in Latin to this effect received the seal of Trinity College.

Abraham Yarner seems to have been more of a soldier than a physician. We first meet with him in 1641, when on the 23rd December he signed a receipt for payment for Army service,²

¹ *Reg.*, vol. iii, p. 153.

² *C. S. P.* 1633-47, p. 772.

and again in the following January he is paid as 'lieutenant of the Lord Lieutenant's horse troop'.¹ On the 28th October, 1643, a letter was written by the King to the Lords Justices of Ireland ordering that 'Capt. Abraham Yarner be appointed Mustermaster General in Ireland if the post be void, and, if not, that he have a reversion of it'. On the 29th June, 1646, the post was granted to him. On 'third Friday after 29 September', 1650, we find among the admissions to the franchise entered in the *Assembly Rolls* of the Dublin Corporation the entry² 'by Special Grace and on fines of a pair of gloves to the Maior, Abraham Yarner Doctor of Physick'. With the advent of the Commonwealth, he seems to have forsaken the battle-field for the study of physic. On the return of the King in 1660 we find him restored to his former appointment as Mustermaster-General and Clerk of the Check of the Armies and Garrison; while at the same time he was promoted to the rank of lieutenant-colonel. In the following year his son Abraham was associated with him in this office, in which he says³ he hopes to 'be able to save the King some thousands a year and keep the Army constantly ready for service'. On August 4, 1663, his daughter Jane was married to Sir John Temple in St. Michan's Church by Bishop Parker, as is shown by the following entry in the Parish Register: ⁴

¹ C. S. P., 1633-47, p. 778.

² C. S. P., 1660-2, p. 391.

³ C. A. R., vol. iii, p. 509.

⁴ St. Michan's Reg., p. 81.

' 1663. Aug. 4. Married, Sir John Temple to Madam Jane Yarner daughter of Dr. Abraham Yarner, by Bishop Parker, Lord Bishop of Elphine, in this parish Church of St. Michan's by licence.'

This John Temple, then Solicitor-General, was the son of Sir John Temple, Master of the Rolls, who had been chosen first ' Medicus ' of the University in 1618.

We have no record where Yarner took his medical degrees, though we find his two sons, Abraham and John, graduating in Oxford from Queen's College, and afterwards entered as students in Lincoln's Inn.¹ Yarner was dubbed knight at Dublin in 1670² and died on the 28th July, 1677, and was buried next day in St. Michan's Church, 'close by the vestry door.'³ In his will, in which he is described as M.D. and Muster-master-General of all his Majesty's forces in Ireland, he leaves an annuity to his son-in-law, Sir John Temple, 'His Majesty's Solicitor General,' out of his lands in the County Wicklow which were 'given, granted, assigned, and allotted unto me by the Comrs. of the Court of Claymes in satisfaction of my services in the wars of this Kingdom'. He also speaks of his home in Oxmantown where he 'now dwells', and he leaves his 'Horses and Coaches' to his dear wife, Lady Catherine, who was buried, as we read in the Parish Register,⁴ 'in the first vault on the left

¹ Foster, *Alumni Ox.*, vol. iv, p. 1699.

² Knights, vol. ii, p. 245.

³ *St. Michan's Reg.*, p. 217.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 396.

hand in the Chancell' of St. Michan's on the 20th January, 1691.

It seems probable from the minutes of the Board of the 2nd April, 1674, already quoted, that Margetson was President of the College of Physicians up to his death, when he was succeeded by Howard, but of this there is no definite proof. Charles Willoughby signs D'Olin's Book in the College of Physicians, as President, on the 24th September, 1676, and on the 22nd October, 1677, the Board of Trinity College elected Dr. Robert Waller. Both these men had been educated abroad, the former in Padua and the latter at Leyden. Willoughby, the son of Sir Francis Willoughby, was a native of Cork, and had studied at Merton College, Oxford, where he became a Fellow.¹ He graduated in medicine in the University of Padua, and his diploma for that degree is preserved in the library of Trinity College. In 1663 he presented to the library of Merton College his 'herbarium vivum' or 'hortus siccus', a collection of dried plants which he had gathered at Padua, and on the 31st March of the following year he was incorporated at Oxford in his doctor's degree.²

Willoughby was an active member of the Dublin Philosophical Society, being appointed the first Director on its establishment in 1683/4, and with Narcissus Marsh, Sir William Petty, and William Molyneux he was specially appointed to draw up

¹ Brodrick, *Merton*, p. 291.

² Wood, *Athenae*, vol. ii, p. 334.

the rules for the conduct of the affairs of the Society. To the proceedings of the Society he contributed the following papers : ¹

1. On the Mirage seen at Rhegiumm in Italy.
2. On Winds.
3. On the lines of Longitude and Latitude.
4. On Hermaphrodism.

In 1857 Sir William Wilde printed a paper by Willoughby,² the manuscript of which he had just acquired, with the following title : ' Observations on the Bills of Mortality and the increase of people in Dublin : the Distempers Air and Climate of this Kingdom ; also of Medicine Physic Surgeons and Apothecary's, by Dr. Willoughby An eminent Physician in 1690.' Willoughby's death was announced to the College of Physicians at the meeting on the 18th September, 1694.

Robert Waller was born about 1620, and on the 17th July, 1650, ' was entered in the Physic line at Leyden.' ³ He graduated Doctor of Medicine at Leyden, and on that degree was incorporated at Cambridge in 1652. He was admitted Fellow of the London College of Physicians on the 22nd December, 1662. In the summer of 1664 he was incorporated M.D. in Trinity College from Cambridge.

That the College of Physicians was at this time actively engaged is evident from a book of old accounts which has been preserved. Belcher believed it to be in the handwriting of Dr. Crosby,

¹ Gilbert, *Hist.*, vol. ii, p. iv.

² *Proceedings R. I. A.*, vol. vi.

³ *Munk's Roll*, vol. i, p. 308.

and it is dated 1676. Among the items of expenditure we find the following :

'It. payd for the College dinn ^r the summe	£	s.
of three pounds two shill:	3	: 2
It. to ye joyner for ye dissecting table the		
15th of March 6 ^s		- 6 ^s -
It. to ye Cuttler for cleaning ye instrum ^{ts} :	s.	d.
belonging to ye College 5 ^s - 5 ^d		5 - 5
It. for a warrant for ye body yt was dis-	£	s.
sected	1	- 3
It. to ye souldiers who kept ye body		4 - 6
It. for ye Coffin for ye s ^d body		4 - 6.
It. to ye souldiers who watched		9 - 0.
for the said souldiers in drinke		3 - 10.
The whole sum spent on ye same body being		
£2 - 4 - 10. I delivered upon ye presi-		
dents note unto his man.'		

It was possibly this subject to which Dunton refers¹ when he tells us that he saw about the year 1700 :

'the skin of one Ridley, a notorious Tory, which had been long ago executed ; he had been begged for an Anatomy and, being flayed, his skin was tanned and stuffed with straw. In this passive state he was assaulted by some mice and rats, not sneakingly behind his back, but boldly before his face, which they so much further mortified, even after death as to eat it up ; which loss has since been supplied by tanning the face of one Geoghegan, a Popish Priest, executed about six years ago for stealing ; which said face is put in the place of Ridley's.'

It is recorded in the Register of Trinity College that on the 7th July, 1674,²

'the special grace of the house for the degree of Batchelor of Physick was given to John Madden and Henry Nicholson.'

¹ Dunton, vol. ii, p. 624.

² *Reg.*, vol. iii, p. 173.

This is the first record we have of the Bachelor's degree in Medicine being granted by the College, the next being those for Allen Mullin on the 27th February, 1678/9, and for John Foley on the 19th February, 1679/80.

Both Foley and Mullin had been students of Trinity College. Foley,¹ the son of Samuel Foley of Clonmel, entered as a Fellow-Commoner on the 6th August, 1673, at the age of fourteen. His tutor was George Mercer, who had a grace for his M.D. degree on the 11th July, 1681, and was elected Fellow of the College of Physicians the following year.

Allen Mullin,² the son of Patrick Mullin of Ballicoultter, entered as a Sizar at the age of eighteen on the 27th February, 1671/2. He graduated B.A. in the summer of 1676, and M.D. in 1684, when he was also elected a Fellow of the College of Physicians. He was one of the most energetic members of the Dublin Philosophical Society, to the transactions of which he made many contributions.³ On the 17th July, 1681, an elephant was burned to death in Dublin, and Sir William Petty secured the dissection of it for Mullin, who published in London in 1682 an account of this dissection, together with some new anatomical observations on the eyes of animals.⁴ This account of the anatomy of the elephant is still found to be accurate and is referred to by

¹ T. C. D. Ent. Bk.

² Ibid.

³ Gilbert, *Hist.*, vol. ii, p. iv; vide App.

⁴ London, 1682, 4to, pp. 72 and two plates.

later writers. Mullin practised in Dublin till 1686, when he went to London, as we are told, 'on account of a scandalous love intrigue, of which he was ashamed.'¹ He was elected a Fellow of the Royal Society, in the transactions of which several of his papers are published. In 1690 Lord Inchiquin 'took him with him to his Government of Jamaica, he being desirous of that voyage having a mind to enquire after some mines which he heard were in those parts: But putting in at Barbadoes he met with some friends who made him drink hard, which threw him into a calenture of which he died'.

Speaking of his work, Sprengel² says:

'The quantity of the blood which circulated in the body had been arbitrarily valued by Harvey and by his followers. A Doctor of Trim in Ireland, Allen Mullen, undertook for the first time in 1687 to submit these results to exact calculation: but the results which he obtained depended on suppositions the truth of which may be doubted. He allowed the blood to flow from the vessels till the animal died and thought that he had thus obtained the total quantity of that which circulated in the body. He found that the weight of this mass amounts to one-twentieth of that of the entire body. Hence he concluded that same proportion exists in human beings, and that consequently a person who weighs one hundred and fifty pounds has not more than eight pounds of blood, and that if at each diastole the heart receives four ounces the total quantity in the body must pass through the organ one hundred and forty times an hour. Mullen did not consider that almost always there remains over a certain amount of blood and that the proportion taken as the base of his calculation varies greatly in different animals.'

¹ Ware, vol. ii, p. 206.

² Sprengel, tom. iv, p. 140.

Mullin's work and discoveries in the anatomy of the eye have received the approbation of Albert von Haller.¹

In the year 1680 the College of Physicians surrendered Trinity Hall to Trinity College, and new articles of agreement were entered into between the Colleges on bonds of £300 apiece. No trace of this agreement can now be found, but from a minute in the Register of Trinity College some years later we find it stated that ² 'Upon the restoring of Trinity Hall in the year 1680, there were articles drawn up which required that "the Register of the College of Physitians should be one of those that should signify the election (of the President) to the Provost and Sen. Fellows".' Another was, 'That Trinity College did oblige themselves to confirm the election of the College of Physitians provided the person elected were a Protestant of the Church of Ireland.'

For a time this agreement seems to have worked well, and on the 24th June, 1681,³ 'Dr. Patrick Dun was chosen President of the College of Physitians.' During the next few years several persons were admitted to the medical degrees of the University, and on the 25th June, 1687, the Provost and Senior Fellows decided that the kitchen garden of the College 'Should be made a Physic Garden at the charge of the College'.⁴ On the 26th October, 1687,⁵ Dr. Connor and

¹ Cameron, p. 9.

² Ibid., p. 219.

³ Ibid., p. 267.

⁴ *Reg.*, vol. iii, p. 267.

⁵ Ibid., p. 264.

Dr. Dunn came to the College to signify that the College of Physitians had chosen Dr. Crosby for their President, and did desire the Provost and Sen. Fellows to confirm their election.' This the Provost and Senior Fellows refused to do on the grounds that the information had not been brought to them by the Registrar as required by the agreement of 1680. 'And seeing that the Person whom they had elected was not a Protestant of the Church of Ireland, the Provost and Senior Fellows did not think it safe nor proper for them to confirm the election of the said Dr. Crosby.'

This Dr. Crosby had been elected a Fellow of the College of Physicians about the year 1674; he does not appear to have been a graduate of Trinity College, and we have no information as to where he took his medical degree. He was, however, a trusted Fellow of the College, of which he held the office of Treasurer as early as 1676, the earliest records of the College of Physicians now extant being in his handwriting. In view of the agreement with the College of Physicians the Provost and Senior Fellows were undoubtedly justified in their refusal to recognize Crosby as President, but in explanation of this refusal one must bear in mind the trend of contemporary events. King James was at this time engaged in attacking the ancient Universities and endeavouring by mandamus to foist on them persons who were ineligible according to the Statutes for the positions sought. The attacks of this nature on Magdalen College, Oxford, and on the University of

Cambridge, are well known. On the 4th October, 1686, Arthur Green, one of 'the King's converts', who had graduated Bachelor of Physic in 1684, presented to the Provost and Senior Fellows a King's Letter demanding that they should immediately elect him to the place and pay of the Lecturer in Irish. To this demand the following minute was made :¹

'That whereas the groundwork, or supposition, whereon the King's grant was founded, was altogether fictitious, and untrue, no such foundation of any Irish Lecturership appearing in any of our Registryes, nor any other way whatsoever . . . and that letters be sent to England . . . containing a humble representation of this whole matter & reasons why we cannot in this case do what the King requires wch might be showed to his Majesty if anyone offer'd to accuse us of disobedience.'

It was probably in view of this attempt on the part of the king that the Board did not 'think it safe nor proper to confirm the election of the said Dr. Crosby'. This caution was justified by subsequent events, for on the 13th February following, a mandamus from the king was presented to the Board demanding the election as Fellow of the 'trusty and well-beloved Bernard Doyle'. This request was refused on the ground that Doyle refused to take the necessary oath as Fellow, and the character of the 'trusty and well-beloved' Doyle is given in a subsequent minute.²

'His Excellency having sent an order to the Mayor of Drogheda, to take examinations of Mr. Doyle's behaviour

¹ *Reg.*, vol. iii, p. 252.

² *T. C. D. Case and Conduct*, p. 20.

while he was usher of that school, and lived in the town, Mr. Downes went to Drogheda upon the 8th of March ; and upon the 9th, 10th, 12th of the same month, depositions of several witnesses on oath were taken, by which it was proved that the said Doyle had been guilty of fornication (having got two bastards) of thefts, drunkenness, and other crimes.'

In view of such a state of things it is quite obvious that the Provost and Fellows would be unwilling to make any appointment which was not strictly in accordance with both the letter and the spirit of their legal obligations, or which might be urged against them in subsequent proceedings.

To whatever cause we may attribute the decision of Trinity College in this election, there is no doubt about its effect. In November 1687 the College of Physicians proposed to the Board that the agreement made between the two Colleges in 1680 should be cancelled, and the Provost and Senior Fellows agreed to this course provided that 'the College of Physicians will deliver up all the writings that relate to Trinity Hall which are in their custody, and also give a release of all former grants, and deeds made by Trinity College to the College of Physicians concerning the said Hall'. Trinity College also proposed, 'to set a lease of Trinity Hall for fifty years to the College of Physicians on such terms as shall be agreed on.'¹

On the 19th May, 1688, the College of Physicians again asked why Trinity College 'refused to confirm their President, Dr. Crosby', and 'the same

¹ *Reg.*, vol. iii, p. 268.

answer was returned that was formerly given'. Matters then remained in this state between the two Colleges for the next few years.

On the 8th June, 1687, 'a letter from the Archbishop of Dublin was presented to the Provost and Senior Fellows whereby it appeared that Dr. Mercer was married & so his fellowship was declared void.' Dr. Mercer had been appointed Medicus in 1671, and Vice-Provost on the 17th November, 1686. It was his daughter who in 1734 bequeathed the money to found Mercer's Hospital. On the 18th June, 1687, Mr. Lloyd was chosen Medicus and was succeeded in the same year by Jeremy Allen. Allen resigned the post on the 18th September, 1687, and was succeeded by Arthur Blennerhasset, who held office till 1693. These were times of stress, when it was difficult to get the bare necessities of life, and we find on the 24th of January, 1688/9, it became necessary to reduce the dietary of those living in the College. In September the College was seized for a garrison by the king's order, and was made a prison for the Protestant inhabitants of the city.¹

'The Chapel was sprinkled, new consecrated, and Mass said in it: but afterwards being converted into a store-house for powder, it escaped all further damage. The Library and Gardens, and ye Provost's lodgings, were committed to the care of one M'Carthy, a priest, and Chaplain to the King, who preserved them from the violence of the souldiers; but the chambers and all other things belonging to the College were miserably defaced and ruined.'

¹ *Reg.*, vol. iii, p. 280.

At this time many of the Fellows left the country, and of the four who remained Richard Acton, Vice-Provost, and Jeremy Allen, the late Medicus, both died of fever in December. George Thewles and John Hall also braved the storm and remained at their posts. Hall afterwards became Vice-Provost, but the tragic fate of Thewles is recorded in the following minute of the Board :

' June 14 1690. King William landed at Carrickfergus and the same day Mr Thewles died of a fever.' ¹

With the establishment of the government of William III things began to improve, and on the 15th July, 1690, the Fellows and Scholars returned to the College. On the 18th of October following 'an instrument was sealed and signed by the Register to constitute Dr. Dun President of the College of Physicians for the year ensuing'.² The physicians then petitioned the Lord Deputy, praying that a new charter might be granted to them similar to that of the London College, giving them more ample powers to check the practice of quackery in the country, and that some forfeited houses and lands in the city might be granted for a College Hall and Physic Garden. This petition was referred to Sir John Temple, then Attorney-General, who reported favourably on it, and on the 14th December, 1692, the old Charter was surrendered by Dr. Cumyng to the Lord Chancellor. The new Charter bearing the date of December 15, 1692, constituted the King and

¹ *T. C. D. Case and Conduct*, p. 41.

² *Reg.*, vol. iii, p. 283.

Queen's College of Physicians with Sir Patrick Dun as President.

There is little known of the history of Trinity Hall subsequent to the death of Stearne. It is probable that Mrs. Stearne continued to reside there as a tenant of the College for some time after Stearne's death, for in the account-book of the College of Physicians, dated 1676, there is the entry :

' De Vidua Sterne pro reditu semi annuo domus hujusce
£03-01-03.'

From the minute in the Register¹ of the Board of Trinity College, dated October 26, 1687, we learn accidentally that Trinity Hall was restored to Trinity College in the year 1680, though we find no further record of its use by that body till 1694. On the 9th July in that year the Register records that 'Sr Smyth was chosen master of the school in Trinity Hall, and on the 28th of November following it was "Ordered that a lease of Trinity Hall and the land adjacent, reserving a place for a school be sett to Mr. Nathaniel Shaw for one and fourty years".'

On the 24th June, 1710, the Board perfected two leases of parts of the ground and part of Trinity Hall to the Rev. John Barton, Dean of Ardagh, in connexion with which there is the following minute :²

' It is agreed between ye within parties before ye perfection of ye within lease, that ye door for ye school

¹ *Reg.*, vol. iii, p. 267.

² *Ibid.*, p. 431.

of Trinity Hall into ye yard shall be shutt up & y^t ye within John Barton shall hold that part of ye building and yard not hereby demised (ye school excepted) with y^t part hereby demised for so long as ye within Provost and Fellows and Scholars shall think fitt.'

Gilbert¹ states, in his *History of Dublin*, that the original building disappeared in the early part of the eighteenth century, but Henry Dabzac, a Senior Fellow, in his evidence before a Committee of the House of Commons in 1783, stated that 'Trinity Hall reverted to Senior Fellows and is now in the possession of ye University'.²

The first meeting of the College of Physicians under the new charter took place in the house of the President in the Inns Quay, and this subsequently became for many years the home of the College.

Thus were the two Colleges formally separated, but separated only to become more closely united in their work and aims. On the 23rd June, 1693, there is the following minute in the Register of the Board :³

'The College of Physicians, Dublin, having obtained of their Majesties a new Charter wth greater privileges than were before granted to ym. To preserve the right of this University and Colledge it is therein specified, That Trin. Coll. Dubl. are only to give notice to ye Professor of Physick, when any Acts are to be performed for any degree in that Faculty, to ye intent only, y^t ye said Acts may be performed with greater solemnity. For it is likewise provided in their new Charter or Grant yt

¹ Gilbert, *Hist.*, vol. iii, p. 17.

² Belcher, *Memoir Sir P. Dun*, p. 37.

³ *Reg.*, vol. iii, p. 303.

those who are admitted by our University to a Drs. degree in Physick are of course to be allowed to practice in ye same without any further examination of ye Colledge of Physicians ; they paying ye ordinary fees for ye same.'

On the 12th May, 1693, ' Mr. William Carr was elected Physick Fellow,'¹ and on the 20th November, 1694, ' had leave to perform Acts for the degree of Batchelour of Physick.'² On the 3rd July, 1695, the minutes of the College of Physicians record that

' he informed ye President yt he was to performe Acts in order to take his Bachelor of Physique's degree this next Commencement according to ye agreement between ye Colledge of Physitians & ye Colledge of Dublin & yt likewise he gave him a copie of ye subject of his lectures & ye questions he was to dispute uppon.'

On the 6th July he was given the grace for his degree. On the 16th January, 1696/7, it was reported to the College of Physicians that

' Dr. Howard & Dr. Pratt being present at his performing his Acts, & they & several others of the Colledge being well satisfyed of his sufficiency therefore ; he performing all other requisites by the College required for a Candidate be admitted as such from the date hereof.'

On the 1st February, 1695/6, Carr resigned his Greek Lectures and presented a King's Letter granting him a Royal dispensation³ ' to remain abroad during ye space of three years for his improvement in ye art of Physick ', without forfeiting his Fellowship. On the 6th March he was

¹ *Reg.*, vol. iii, p. 300.

² *Ibid.*, p. 318.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 335.

co-opted a Senior Fellow, and on the 21st January, 1698/9, the 'Physick Fellowship' was declared vacant by the death of Mr. Carr and 'Mr. Dennis was elected into it'.

The agreement between the Colleges mentioned above is further stated in the minutes of the College of Physicians under the date 2nd October, 1695, when

'it was ordered yt whoever is to be a Fellow of this Society is first to be admitted Dr. of Physick in ye University of Dublin on account yt there is enterd in ye Registry of ye said University an order yt whoever likes a degree in ye Faculty of Physick do give timely notice to ye President and Fellows of ye King & Queen's Colledge of Physitiens yt they may be present at ye performance of their Exercises or Acts to make judgement accordingly whether they be duly qualified for such degrees.'

On the 21st July, 1697, the President and Fellows of the College of Physicians adopted the following resolution :

'Ordered yt att all Candidate Drs. Acts of Disputation in Trinity Colledge ye Censrs for ye time being be ex-officio present as Opponents without being desir'd by ye Candidate soe yt they may be able to make a report to ye Colledge thereof under such penaltyes as the Colledge shall think fit.'

At a subsequent meeting, September 11, 1697, this penalty was fixed at a fine of ten shillings for each such omission, and it was decided that the Censor was to lose his power of voting in the College and was not to be met in consultation by any other Fellow of the College till the fine was paid. On the 3rd July, 1699, a grace was given

to Mr. Samuel Massy for his degree of Doctor in Physic. In the minutes of the College of Physicians for the 11th May, 1698, we read :

‘ Mr. Massy shall choose two of the following questions to dispute on for his Batchelour’s degree in Physick, and acquaint ye Presidt. & Censors how he will hold them :

1. An Nervi aliquid deferunt praeter spiritus animales.
2. An Pulmones inflantur quia Dilatantur.
3. An Secretio Bilis sit in hepate tantum.
4. An Sanguis nutriat.
5. An dantur Particularia Vasa deferentia Urinam ad Vesicam praeter Ureteres.
6. An Omne Animal generatur ex ovo.’

This is the first example of a medical examination paper that has come down to us, but there is no record which of the questions Mr. Massy selected.

The regulations for the examination of candidate for the degrees of the University, in spite of the resolutions of the College of Physicians, do not appear to have been on a very satisfactory footing, and several degrees were granted without there being any record of the presence of the Censors of the College. At the meeting of the College of Physicians on the 23rd January, 1698/9, Dr. Howard and Dr. Molyneux were ordered ‘ to wait on ye Provost of Trinity Colledge, Dubl., & enquire what agreement relating to performing of acts for Doctors in Physick is concluded between ye sd Colledge & ye Colledge of Physitians in Ireland’. On the 15th February following Dr. Howard reported that the Provost said he ‘ would look for ye agreement made between ye said

Colledge and ye Colledge of Physicians in relation to ye candidates in Physick'. This matter was continually before the College until the meeting on the 23rd July, 1701, on which date the matter was brought to a satisfactory conclusion, and on August 24, 1701, the following resolution was entered in the Register of Trinity College :¹

'At a meeting of ye President & Fellows of ye King & Queens College of Physicians in Ireland 8ber 2d 1695 Ordered, that whoever is to be a Fellow of this Society is first to be admitted Dr. of Physick in the University of Dublin, on account that there is enter'd in ye Registry of ye said University an order that who ever takes a degree in ye Faculty of Physick doe give timely notice to ye President & Fellows of ye King & Queens College of Physicians that they may be present at ye performance of their Exercises or Acts to make a judgement accordingly whether they be duely qualified for such degrees.

Richard Steevens Register.'

'8ber 18, 1697. Ordered that ye four Censors after notice being given to them doe ex officio attend, and be ready to oppose at ye disputations of each candidate Doctor of Physick in ye University of Dublin and that each Censor who doth absent himself or is not ready to oppose ye said candidates shall for each omission pay ten shillings fine to ye use of ye College & whilst this fine is unpaid he shall loose his power of voting in ye meetings of ye said College, and that after ye aforesaid omission has been taken notice of at ye meetings of ye said College none of ye Fellows shall consult with him before he pay ye said fine and that whosoever consulteth with him before ye fine be pay'd ye same Fellow shall be liable to ye same fine and shall also loose his power of voting untill he pay ye said fine.

Richard Steevens Regr.'

¹ *Reg.*, vol. iii, p. 379.

'The President and Fellows of ye King & Queens College of Physicians in Ireland having admitted a clause in their Charter that every Doctor of Physick of our University of due standing and performing full acts shall be admitted into their Society without Examination on paying ye usual fees.

'The said President and Fellows having also made an order Octr. ye 2d, 1695, that noe Dr. of Physick of any foreigne University shall be admitted a Fellow of their Society unlesse he be first admitted ad eundem with us.

'The aforesaid President and Fellows having alsoe made another order, Sept. 22d 1697. and January 24 1697(/8) that ye Censors of ye said College of Physicians for ye time being shall ex officio be present at ye Acts of each Candidate Doctor in Physick and oppose at ye disputations of each such Candidate (timely notice being first given to ye said Censors) and that under a severe penalty. We ye Provost and Fellows of Trinity College Dublin in consideration of ye foregoing articles doe order and appoint that henceforth each Candidate Doctor in Physick on obtaining our leave to perform his acts for ye said degree be obliged to give ye President and Censors of ye College of Physicians due notice of ye time and subject of his Acts and that he be obliged to furnish ye same in such time before ye commencement that ye said President, Censors & Fellows aforesaid may have a competent time to report unto us ye sufficiency or insufficiency of each said candidate; we hereby promising not to give ye grace of ye house to any candidate Dr. in Physick whom ye President Censors & Fellows of ye College of Physitians shall solemnly report & declare under their hands to be not duly qualified for ye said degree of Dr. in Physick but that ye said candidate shall be deterred & stopt from ye said degree in that commencement only on account of ye certificate and report aforesaid but that for any comencement following ye same person may have his degree at ye discretion of ye house.'

We have given these agreements in full as they form an important landmark in the history of the colleges, and under the regulations thereby made the examinations for the degrees in medicine were conducted for the next fifty years.

As we have seen, on the death of Dr. Carr, 29th January, 1698/9, John Dennis was appointed Physic Fellow or Medicus. Dennis had been elected Junior Fellow 'upon Dr. Richardson's foundation' pursuant to a letter of the King.¹ He was elected Scholar in 1693, graduated Bachelor in Arts in the spring of 1696, and Master in the summer of 1697.² He resigned his Fellowship in June 1700, and became head master of the Portora Royal School, Enniskillen. In the spring of 1709 he proceeded to the degree of Bachelor in Divinity and to that of Doctor in the summer of 1711. He was appointed Rector of Clunish in 1721, and died in 1745.³

On the 8th June, 1700, 'Mr. Raymond was chosen Physic Fellow.'⁴ He had been a Scholar in 1693, Bachelor in Arts in 1696, Fellow and Master in Arts in 1699, and in 1702 was appointed Vicar of Trim. He took his Bachelor and Doctor's degrees in Divinity in the summer of 1719. On the resignation of Mr. Raymond in 1702 William Lloyd appears to have been appointed Medicus. He had graduated in Arts in 1700, was elected Fellow in 1701, and Master in Arts in 1712, Bachelor in Divinity in 1712, and Doctor in 1714.

¹ *Reg.*, vol. iii, p. 348.

² *T. C. D. Cal.*, p. 494.

³ *Todd's Roll.*

⁴ *Reg.*, vol. iii, p. 367.

He was co-opted Senior Fellow on the 19th November, 1711, and died on the 12th November, 1719. There is no record of Lloyd's appointment to the Physic Fellowship, but in the College Register for the 28th January, 1706/7, is the minute that 'upon Mr. Lloyd's resignation of ye Physic-fellow Mr. Helsham was chosen into it'.¹

The chief moving spirit in medical education in Ireland at this time was undoubtedly Patrick Dun, and though his connexion with the College of Physicians was closer than with the University, yet since his death his name has been intimately linked with the medical school of both bodies. The chief facts of his life have been related by the late Dr. Belcher in an admirable memoir published in 1866, and it is from this memoir that our facts are chiefly derived.

Patrick Dun, the son of Charles Dun, litser, or dyer, and his wife Katherine Burnett, was born in Aberdeen in January 1642, and was the grand-nephew of Dr. Charles Dun, Principal of Marischal College, who died in 1631. It is probable that Patrick was educated first at the Aberdeen Grammar School and then at Marischal College, though no record in either of these places has been preserved to confirm the supposition. It is recorded that the wife of Dun's great-great-grandfather was burned as a witch at Aberdeen on the 9th March, 1597.

Dun graduated in Medicine at Aberdeen and then, as was the custom at the time, probably went abroad for study.

¹ *Reg.*, vol. iii, p. 410.

In 1677/8 James, Duke of Ormonde, being Chancellor of the University of Oxford, it is recorded¹ that on

'Feb. 19th *Patrick Dun* Physitian in ord. to James Duke of Ormonde, L. Lieut. of *Ireland*, Doct. of Phys. of *Aberdeen* in *Scotland*, *Valentia* in *Dauphiny* and of *Dublin* in *Ireland* was declared (he being then absent) incorporated Doctor of the said faculty of this Univ. of *Oxon*,' and on the 23d of *March* following, 'a *Diploma* of his incorporation was sealed and sent to him.'

We also hear of him in a letter written from Dublin Castle by Sir John Hill to John Forbes, of Culloden, in 1676, in which he says :

'here is one Dr. Dun an Aberdeen man, who is Phisitian to the State, & to my Lord Lieut., desires to have his service remembered to your son, Duncan, with whom he had an acquaintance in Paris.'

About this time Dun was elected a Fellow of the College of Physicians, and on June 24, 1681, he was for the first time chosen President of the College, and re-elected on St. Luke's Day, 1690. Dun was one of the founders of the Dublin Philosophical Society in 1682, and contributed a paper 'on the Analysis of Mineral Waters' to the proceedings of that body. In the course of 1688 Dun was Physician to the Army in Ireland, and in that capacity saw active service in various parts of the country. In 1692 he entered the Irish Parliament as member for the borough of Killileagh, County Down, and was subsequently, in 1695 and 1703, elected member for Mullingar. On the 11th

¹ Wood, *Athenae*, vol. ii, p. 879.

December, 1694, he married Mary, daughter of Colonel John Jephson, and their only son, Boyle, was baptised at St. Michan's on the 24th November, 1697, and buried there on the 7th October, 1700, 'in Mr. Becket's vault.'¹ On the 29th January, 1696, Dun was knighted by the Lords Justices, and in the year 1704 he represented that there was an hospital in Dublin for the sick and infirm of the army, and that no physician had been appointed to attend there since the queen's succession to the crown. In consequence of this representation the queen appointed him from Lady Day, 1705, Physician-General of the Army in Ireland with the usual salary of ten shillings a day.²

In 1711 Dun made his will and executed his celebrated deed concerning the Professor of Physic. On May 24, 1713, he died, and on the 27th was buried in St. Michan's.

Dun's interest in the College of Physicians and medical education never flagged in spite of his numerous engagements, social, political, and professional. He was a constant attendant at the College meetings as late as April 20, 1713, and took a prominent part in all the important transactions of that body. Both his will and the scheme which he drew up for the foundation of a Professorship in Physic show the broad view which he took of medical education. Much of the subsequent credit and distinction of the Irish School of Medicine is due to his wise forethought and generosity.

¹ St. Michan's Reg.

² *Liber Mun.*, vol. i, part ii, p. 101.

CHAPTER V

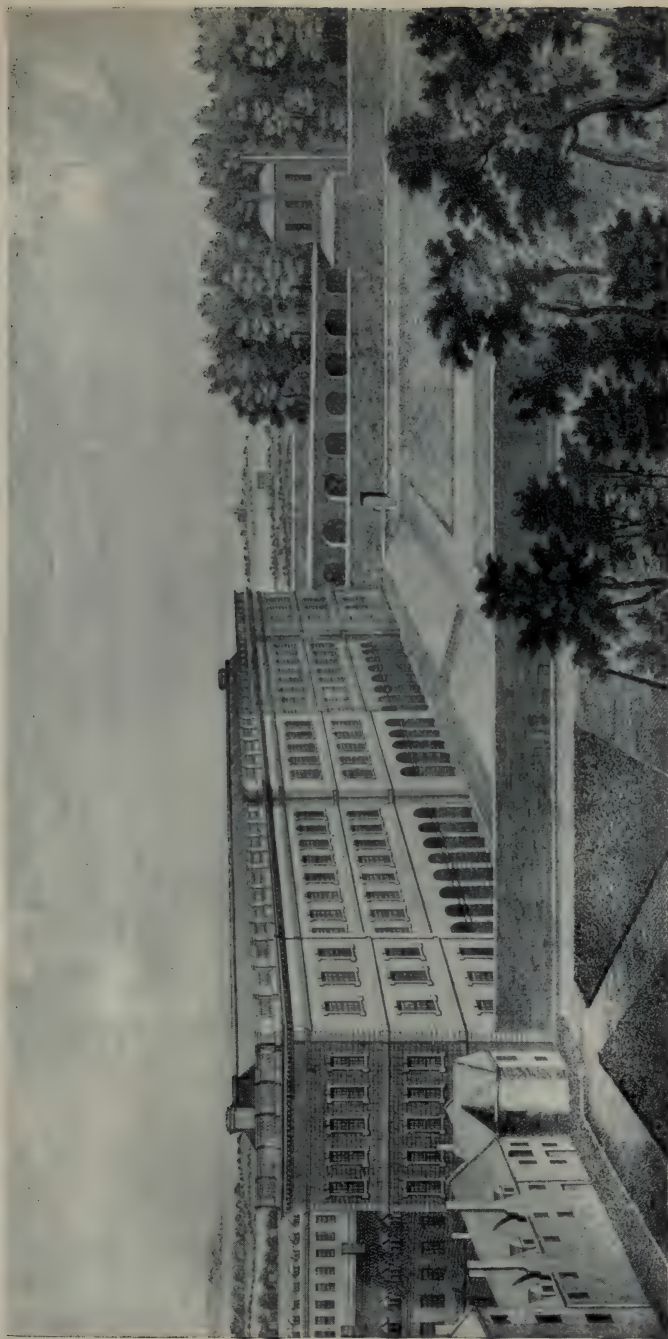
THE FOUNDATION OF THE SCHOOL

ON the 14th of June, 1710, the Provost and Senior Fellows 'Ordered that ground be laid out at the South-East corner of ye Physic Garden sufficient for erecting a Laboratory and an Anatomical Theatre thereupon.' The same day it was 'Ordered that the hundred pounds given by ye Widow Parsons for the maintenance of a poor scholar in ye College be applied to ye building of ye said Laboratory and Anatomical Theatre, and that the two Lecturers in Anatomy and Chymistry be charged with ye payment of six pounds for ye maintenance of ye said poor scholar during ye pleasure of ye house.'¹

Such is the scanty account we have in the *College Register* of the foundation in Trinity College of the School of Medicine—a school which was destined to become the largest within her walls. The situation of the physic garden, which had originally been the kitchen garden of the College, has not been accurately defined. It was somewhere in the region of the present Library, extending probably for some distance into the present Fellows' Garden. Stubbs² states that the physic garden occupied the site of the present Library,

¹ *Reg.*, vol. iii, p. 431.

² Stubbs, *Hist.*, p. 182.



THE LIBRARY AND ANATOMY HOUSE, 1753



but this can hardly be exact, since the Anatomy House, situated in the south-east corner of the garden, was some distance from the south-east corner of the Library. The present Library was built between 1712 and 1733, and in the plan of the College as it was in 1750, given in Rocque's map of Dublin, both buildings are shown. The Anatomy House occupied a position as nearly as possible corresponding to the present tool-house at the west end of the College park, and was connected with the adjacent end of the Library by a wall. The house now known as 'No. 22' was at first a double house, and extended across the pathway which at present separates it from the Library. In an old engraving of the College, published in 1753, one gets a view of the Anatomy House as it then stood. It was two stories high, and appears to have been built of brick, without any attempt at architectural beauty, as indeed one would expect when one considers the funds available for its erection.

The Board had not yet embarked on those extensive architectural undertakings which, during the next fifty years, were to absorb so much money and to give to the College some of the finest of its present buildings.

Of the details of the internal arrangements of the Anatomy House we have little information. We know that it contained rooms for a chemical laboratory, for a lecture-room, and, probably a dissecting-room, as well as an upstairs apartment, which was used as a museum. The rooms were

small, and in the dissecting-room in 1814 there was only accommodation for five tables, and there was no water-supply nor drainage.¹

The building operations did not take long, and on the 15th August, 1711, the Board ordered that the sum of 'five guineas be given to Sr. Thompson in consideration of his labour in composing a poem agst. ye opening of ye laboratory.' On the following day, the 16th August, 1711,

'the laboratory was opened ye Provost & fellows and many others being present, and several publick exercises were performed by ye several persons following :²

Sr. Thompson spoke a copy of verses.

Dr. Helsham lectured in Natural Philosophy.

Dr. Hoyle lectured in Anatomy.

Dr. Nicholson lectured in Botany.

Dr. Molyneux, Professor of Physick, lectured in Physicks.

Dr. Griffith lectured in Chymistry.'

This is the only record of the opening ceremony that has come down to us, and unfortunately no copy of the verses spoken by 'Sr. Thompson' is known to exist. This 'Sr. Thompson', or William Thompson, was elected a Scholar in 1707, and graduated B.A. in the spring of 1709. In 1713 he was elected Fellow, and he graduated B.D. and proceeded to the D.D. degree in the summer of 1727. He was co-opted Senior Fellow on the 14th June, 1723, and being elected Rector of Aghalurcher on the 18th December, 1729, he resigned his Fellowship on the 24th January following. He died on the 8th January, 1754. William

¹ Macalister, pp. 103 and 106.

² *Reg.*, vol. iii, p. 438.

Thompson was one of the three Fellows of Trinity College who in 1725 volunteered to accompany Bishop Berkeley to the Bermudas to assist in the foundation of a College there 'for converting the savage Americans to Christianity'.¹

Of the other lecturers on this occasion, Helsham and Molyneux were perhaps the most distinguished. Richard Helsham, the son of John Helsham, was born and educated at Kilkenny, and entered Trinity College as a Pensioner at the age of 15, on June 18, 1698.² He was elected Scholar in 1700, and graduated in Arts in the spring of 1702. Two years later he was elected Fellow, and took the Master's degree in Arts in 1705. In January, 1706/7, he was elected Medicus on the resignation of Lloyd, and in February, 1709/10, proceeded to the degrees of Bachelor and Doctor of Medicine. On the 18th October, 1710, he was admitted a candidate and Fellow of the King and Queen's College of Physicians. On the 26th January, 1722/3, he was chosen 'Mathematic Lecturer' in place of Dr. Claud Gilbert, on the foundation of Lord Donegall, and on the 21st April, 1724, he was chosen the first Professor of Natural and Experimental Philosophy, a Chair then founded in accordance with the will of Erasmus Smith, though he had lectured on the subject since the opening of the School in 1711.

The President and Fellows of the College of Physicians recognized the work of Helsham in this Chair by resolving, on April 13, 1724, 'that

¹ Berkeley's *Life*, vol. i, p. xi.

² Entrance Book, T. C. D.

Dr. Helsham has deserved a gratuity from ye College of Physitians for his course of experimental philosophy.'¹ On October the 30th the 'Treasurer was ordered to pay Mr. Cope, the goldsmith, the sum of twenty three pounds for ye piece of plate given by the College to Dr. Helsham.'

Helsham was co-opted a Senior Fellow of Trinity College on the 6th November, 1714, and he resigned on the 16th January, 1729/30, being elected Professor of Physic in the room of Sir Thomas Molyneux on the 10th November, 1733. In the College of Physicians he was elected President in 1716 and again in 1725, being made Honorary Fellow on St. Luke's Day, 1735. Besides being a learned physician, Helsham took an active interest in the affairs of the city, and on August 29, 1737, in the Assembly Rolls of the Corporation² we read of a petition from 'certain of the Commons setting forth that Dr. Richard Helsham has on all occasions shown his readiness to assist this citty with respect to the being better supplied with pipewater, & therefore prayed to have him presented with his freedom in a silver box. Whereupon it was ordered that Dr. Richard Helsham be presented with the freedom of this citty in a silver box the value thereof not to exceed five pounds.'

Helsham was a member of that group of friends who used to meet at Dr. Delany's house at Delville, which included Swift, Stella, Dr. Sheridan, and Mrs. Pendarvis, afterwards Dr. Delany's wife. Indeed Delville seems to have belonged in part to

¹ Col. P. Minutes.

² C. A. R., vol. iii, p. 182.

long time known as
 being derived from the
 shares of the joint owners.¹
 Dublin as Dean of St.
 to have acted as his
 the letter dated London,
 notes says: 'Glad at my
 that or I could do you
 Dr. Helsham; he does
 case'²

Dublin, Feb. 13,
 following description of

renowned Physician, a fine
 man in his fortunes, kind
 to his friends, entertains
 his friends the evening with him
 meat and wine, eight or
 ten and they him; he
 if one of them dies, it
 is felt another, or taketh
 more than at the loss
 of any with every Body,

describes him as 'the
 city and Kingdom'.⁴
 Harris, in a letter to
 January 24, 1732/3,
 describes and describes
 an entertaining man'.⁵

¹ *Letts*, vol. ii, p. 192.

⁴ Jy 12, 1735.

On December 16, 1730, about the time Helsham resigned his Fellowship, he married Jane, widow of Thomas Putland, who survived him. In the *Gentleman's Magazine*¹ for 1738 we find the following notice of Helsham's death under the date of August of that year :

'It was imagin'd that his disorder proceeded from a twisting of the guts, and he took quicksilver, which proved ineffectual. He desired that his body might be opened for the benefit of mankind, which being done there was found in one of his guts an excrescence of three pieces of Flesh, the smallest as large as a hen's egg, and resembling the Flesh of the liver.'

In his will, the codicil of which is dated the 16th of August, 1738, Helsham says :

'As to my funeral it is my will (and I do adjure my executor not to fail in the execution of it) that before my coffin be nailed up my head be severed from my body and that my corps be carried to the place of burial by the light of one taper only at the dead of night without Herse or Pomp attended by my Domesticks only.'

Helsham's lectures in natural philosophy were published in 1739 by his friend and pupil Bryan Robinson, being the first scientific work printed at the University Press.² Many subsequent editions of this book were issued, and it continued to be used as a text-book in the University for nearly a hundred years. As late as the year 1822 select parts of this work were issued by the University Press for the use of students in the College.

Thomas Molyneux, son of Samuel Molyneux, who had served with distinction in the wars of

¹ Vol. viii, p. 491.

² Stubbs, *Hist.*, p. 340.

1641, and had been appointed Master Gunner for Ireland, was born in Dublin on the 14th April, 1661. The family had been connected with Ireland¹ from the time of Elizabeth, when one Sir Thomas Molyneux, Kt., held the office of Chancellor of the Exchequer, and in his will, dated 1592, he left £40 towards the building of Trinity College. His second son, Daniel, M.P. for Strabane (1613-32), was appointed Ulster King-of-Arms in 1597, and held the post till his death in 1632.

Samuel Molyneux, the Master Gunner, was the third son of this Daniel, and is remarkable for having written a book on gunnery after he had reached the age of 70. Samuel Molyneux married a Miss Margret Dowdall, and had five sons and four daughters. Of these sons, William and Thomas occupy prominent positions in Irish history. William Molyneux, born on the 17th April, 1656, was a distinguished mathematician and scientist, being the first person to demonstrate by the aid of the microscope the circulation of the blood in reptiles.² He is, however, better known as the author of *The Case of Ireland being bound by Acts of Parliament made in England stated*, which was published in Dublin in 1698, and was ordered by the English Parliament to be burned by the common hangman.³ He represented the University of Dublin in the Irish Parliament of 1692, and died at the early age of 42 on the 11th November, 1698, having suffered for many years from a stone in his kidney.⁴

¹ *Irish Builder*, April 1, 1887.

² Webb, p. 343.

³ Sprengel, tome iv, p. 140.

⁴ Ware's *Writers*, p. 259.

Thomas Molyneux, the younger brother of William, entered Trinity College as a Fellow Commoner on the 5th September, 1675, at the age of 15, and graduated B.A. in the spring of 1680.

In 1683 he left Dublin for travel and study on the continent of Europe. He visited London, Cambridge, Oxford, and Amsterdam, and then settled down to study in the University of Leyden. In a series of letters written to his brother during this period, which were published in the *Dublin University Magazine* for 1841, Molyneux gives a most interesting account of his work and of the manners and customs of the various Universities he visited.

At the end of April, 1687, Molyneux returned to Dublin, having visited Paris and spent almost a year in London before his return. On July 9, 1687, 'the Grace of the House' was given by the Board of Trinity College for the degree of Doctor of Physic to Thomas Molyneux, and in the same year he was elected Fellow of the College of Physicians. On the 31st January, 1689/90, both William and Thomas Molyneux left Ireland at the desire of their parents, on account of the political troubles which had then reached an acute stage in Ireland. For two years they lived together near Chester, and there Thomas occupied himself with the practice of his profession. Immediately after the battle of the Boyne they returned to Dublin, and Thomas took up his residence and began practice in his father's house in Thomas Court. About a year after his father's death, which

occurred in January, 1692, Thomas married Catherine, daughter of Ralph Howard, who was then Professor of Physic in the University. At this time he appears to have been in a large practice, for we find that before the close of the year 1693 he was able to purchase an estate worth £100 per annum.

Among his patients was the celebrated John Locke, whom he had met abroad, and from whom he received several letters. During this period he contributed many papers to the *Philosophical Transactions*, dealing with natural history and medical subjects, and he represented Ratoath in the Irish Parliament from 1695 to 1699.

On the 16th October, 1701, Molyneux was elected President of the King and Queen's College of Physicians, having previously held the offices of Censor, Registrar, and Treasurer. He was re-elected President in the next year, and again in 1709, 1713, and 1720, and was made an Honorary Fellow on the 28th October, 1728. In the year 1711 he built for himself, at an expense of £2,310 4s. 5½d., a house in Peter Street, which still remains, the furnishing of which, he tells us, came to £2,341 5s. 7d.

On the 22nd February, 1711, Molyneux was chosen Professor of Physic in the University in 'the room of Dr. Richard Steevens lately deceased'.¹ In July, 1715, he was named Physician to the State in Ireland, and on the 16th July, 1718, was, by Letters Patent,² appointed Physician-General of

¹ *Reg.*, vol. iii, p. 435.

² *Liber Mun.*

the Army. By a Patent,¹ dated Dublin, July 4, 1730, he was created the first medical baronet in Ireland. He died on the 19th October, 1733. Molyneux was one of that large group of Irish graduates who by their work have shown themselves to be masters in many branches of learning. Not only was he the leading physician of his time in Ireland, but he was also remarkable as a zoologist, a botanist, and an antiquarian, a fine classical scholar, a political economist, and a statesman of no mean ability.

Of the other professors who took part in the opening of the school there is little to record. Richard Hoyle had entered Trinity College as a Pensioner at the age of 15 on the 13th November, 1696,² and graduated B.A. and M.B. in the spring of 1705, and M.D. in the summer of 1710, when he was also elected a Fellow of the King and Queen's College of Physicians. He was President of the College in 1715 and again in 1724. Hoyle continued Professor of Anatomy till 1716, and was again appointed on the 17th June, 1717, and continued in office till his death in August, 1730.

Robert Griffith, who lectured in chemistry, was the son of George Griffith of Chester, and had entered Trinity College as a Sizar at the age of 21 on July 12, 1684. He proceeded to the degree of M.A. in the spring of 1693, and of M.D. in the spring of 1699, being elected a Fellow of the King and Queen's College of Physicians on the 14th June of the following year. He held the office of President

¹ *G. E. C.*, vol. v, p. 349.

² Entrance Book, T. C. D.

of the College in the years 1706 and 1711, and in 1717 was elected the first King's Professor of the Practice of Medicine under the will of Sir Patrick Dun. He died two years subsequently.

Henry Nicholson, also a Sizar, entered Trinity College at the age of 17 on December 3, 1667, and proceeded to the degree of M.B. on July 7, 1674, being, as we stated, one of the first who is recorded as having taken this degree. On January 29, 1711/12, he had leave to perform acts for the degree of M.D., and on the 5th of July following was admitted a candidate of the King and Queen's College of Physicians, but was never elected a Fellow. He is said¹ to have published in 1712 a work entitled *Methodus Plantarum in Hort. Dublin.*, but of it we have never seen a copy. He continued as Lecturer in Botany till 1732.

Such was the teaching staff of the School of Medicine when its doors were first opened to students on the 16th August, 1711. Let us hope that to this building was transferred the stuffed skin of the 'Notorious Tory', Ridley, which Dunton had seen in the library, and also the new skeleton which he describes as hanging at the west end of the chapel, near Dr. Chaloner's picture.² This skeleton had been made up and given to the College by Dr. Gwither, and was probably that of the 'malefactor' who was executed on February 18, 1692/3, and 'demanded of the Sheriff of the City of Dublin by an order of the president and five of the fellows according to a privilege granted

¹ *T. C. D. Cal.*, vol. iii, p. 346.

² Dunton, vol. ii, p. 625.

to the College of physicians.’¹ It was to this Dr. Gwither that Swift facetiously refers in the *Tatler*² when he says :

‘ It was then that an ingenious Physician, to the honour as well as Improvement of his Native Country, performed what the English had been so long attempting in vain. This learned Man, with the Hazard of his Life, made a Voyage to Liverpool, when he filled several Barrels with the choicest Spawn of Frogs that could be found in those parts. This Cargo he brought over very carefully and afterwards disposed of it in several warm Beds that he thought most capable of bringing it to Life. The Doctor was a very ingenious Physician, and a very good Protestant ; for which Reason, to show his Zeal against Popery, he placed some of the most promising Spawn in the very Fountain that is dedicated to the Saint, and known by the Name of St. Patrick’s Well, where these Animals had the Impudence to make their first Appearance. They have since that time very much increased and multiplied in all the neighbourhood of this City.’

On August 24, 1711, the President and Fellows of the King and Queen’s College of Physicians appointed a committee consisting of Drs. Molyneux, Griffith, and Mitchell ‘ to meet on Monday next at 7 in the evening at Derby’s Coffee House to consider of a method for examining Candidate Drs. & Batchellors of Physick’. The report of this committee was communicated to the Provost and Senior Fellows of Trinity College, who on February 5th following resolved that

‘ At the request of ye College of Physicians for ye promoting ye study of Physick, ordered by ye Provost and Senior Fellows that besides the usual Acts, every Can-

¹ Col. P. Minutes, February 18, 1692/3. ² *Tatler*, No. 236.

didate Batchellor of Physick be examined in all ye parts of Anatomy relating to ye Œconomia Animalis, and in all ye parts of Botany, Chymistry and Pharmacy. Every Candidate Doctor be examined as to ye aforesaid subjects and likewise in ye explication of Hippocrates's Aphorisms, & ye Theory & Cure of external & internal diseases, & ye President & Fellows of ye College of Physicians to examine.' ¹

Sir Patrick Dun died, as we have seen, on the 24th of May, 1713, and the President and Fellows of the College at once decided to

'persue such measures as should make the good intentions and designs of the late Sir Patrick Dun, express'd in his Will and several other papers for constituting a Professor of Physick in the City of Dublin, thoroughly effectual & usefull to the Publick.' ²

In pursuance of this resolution the College of Physicians obtained a Royal Charter from George I on the 15th October, 1715, appointing a 'King's Professor of Physick in the City of Dublin'. By this charter it was appointed that whenever the post of King's Professor was vacant the Provost (President) and two Senior Censors of the College should appoint a day for the examination of the candidates for the office, and should give at least a month's notice of such examination in the *London* and *Dublin Gazettes*, indicating that any Doctor of Physic of any University might be a candidate for the professorship. It was further ordered that

'every such Candidate shall give in his name in writing to the Provost of Trinity College, near our said City of

¹ *Reg.*, vol. iii, p. 440. ² Col. P. Minutes, September 24, 1713.

Dublin, or in his absence to the Vice-Provost thereof, for the time being, eight days at least before the appointed time for such election by the publick notices aforesaid; and shall present himself there certain days to be appointed by the said Provost, for the time being, of Trinity College, the Professor of Physick in the same, the President for the time being of the King & Queens College of Physicians in Ireland, and the two eldest Censors for the time being in the said College of Physicians, or any three of these so assembling and submit himself to such examination in, touching and concerning the several parts of Physick, as they or the major part of them so assembling shall think fit, such election to continue for the space of two hours in each of the three days at such time & place as shall be to that purpose directed and appointed by the said Examinators or any three of them so assembling.'

It was further enjoined that each of the examina-tors should take a solemn oath

'that they and every of them shall without favour, affection, hatred, or prejudice to any person or candidate impartially, diligently and faithfully proceed in such their examination of each & every of the said candidates and make true, just, and impartial report according to the best of their respective judgements and understandings of the skill, learning, knowledge & ability of each and every of the said candidates in the several parts of Physick, & of his and their respective fitness & qualifications to be the King's Professor of Physic.'

These examiners were to report the result of their judgement to the guardians, who included the Archbishop of Dublin, Viscount Skeffington, or his heirs male, Patrick Dun of Taerty, or his heirs male, as also the heirs male of the three sisters of Sir Patrick, Catherin Mitchell, Rachel

More, and Elizabeth Anderson; and of John Jephson, nephew of Lady Dun, the Rev. William Joseph Jephson, brother of Lady Dun, and her brother-in-law, the Rev. Enoch Reader. Notice was to be given to these guardians by the examiners causing

‘ a notice in writing under their hands of such an examination having been made in order to fill up the said place of Professor of Physick and of the time and place where they shall be ready to declare their opinion of the persons standing Candidates to be fixed on the Tholsell in our said city of Dublin and on the gates of Trinity College near Dublin fourteen days at least before the time appointed to declare their said opinion.’

Preference was to be given, other qualifications being equal, to the descendants of these guardians who were relations of Sir Patrick Dun, in the order above named, if any such happened to be candidates.

The emoluments of the professorship were to consist of the estates of Sir Patrick Dun after the death or re-marriage of his widow. The Professor was to have Dun’s house on the Inns Quay, paying the rent of the same and keeping it in order ; to the President and Fellows of the College of Physicians being reserved the right of a convenient room or hall in it for their meetings. The Professor was to be elected a Fellow of the College on the first vacancy, and was to give a bond of £2,000 to the Master of the Rolls for the safe keeping of Dun’s library. A catalogue in parchment was to be made of this library and annexed to the bond

given to the Master of the Rolls, while three copies of the catalogue were to be made, of which one was to be given to the Archbishop of Dublin, another to the President of the College, and the third annexed to the instrument appointing the Professor.

The Professor was diligently to apply himself to reading public lectures on 'Osteology, bandage and the operations of Chirurgy and in reading public botanick lectures, and in the *Materia Medica*, and other parts of Physick, or dependent there-upon, and in making public anatomical dissections of the several parts of human bodies, and of the bodies of other animals, and shall publickly demonstrate plants for the information and instruction of students in Physick, Chirurgy, and Pharmacy, which lectures shall be read twice every week in term time.'

Though Lady Dun was still alive, and there were consequently no emoluments for the Professor, notice was given in the *Dublin Gazette* of March 16, 1716/7, of an election, and Dr. Robert Griffith was appointed first King's Professor, the examiners being Benjamin Pratt, Provost; Thomas Molyneux, Professor of Physic; Richard Helsham, President of the College of Physicians; and William Smyth and James Grattan, the Senior Censors. Dr. Griffith died in 1719, and was succeeded as Professor by Dr. James Grattan, who remained in office till 1748.

The management of Dun's estate was by no means settled by the charter of George I, and

much litigation ensued, which was not settled till 1740, when a decree was obtained from the Court of Chancery, with the consent of all parties.

The appointment of the King's Professor does not seem to have made any difference in the medical teaching in Trinity College. As Lady Dun says in a letter to the Archbishop, dated ¹ 'May ye 3d 1716', 'As there is no present sallary: So there is no present business required from such a Professor.' The lecturers appointed to teach in Trinity College continued their work in the School, and the President and Fellows of the College of Physicians continued to examine the candidates for the degrees of Bachelor and Doctor of Physic. On September 8, 1716,² 'Dr. Robinson and Surgeon Green were by the Provost and Senior Fellows appointed to officiate in the Anatomy School as Lecturer and Anatomist,' but on the 17th of June following, 'Dr. Robinson was by a majority of voices turned out from being Anatomist & Dr. Hoyle elected to the same.'³

No further information is given in explanation of this curious resolution either in the Register of Trinity College or the Minutes of the College of Physicians. It has been suggested that Robinson was deprived of his office in consequence of a refusal to reside in Dublin in the neighbourhood of the School, a somewhat similar step having been taken by the authorities of Cambridge University in the case of one of their Professors for this reason. We find, however, that Robinson was

¹ Belcher, p. 61. ² *Reg.*, vol. iii, p. 477. ³ *Ibid.*, p. 480.

at this time a regular attendant of the meetings of the College of Physicians, which would be unlikely were he not living in the city. There may possibly have been some dispute as to the management of the School, for the next entry in the *Register*: 'Ordered that the Bursar pay sixty pounds to Surgeon Green in order to purchase preparations for illustrating several parts of the human body.'

That discrimination was exercised in selecting those who were to get the degrees of the University is shown by the case of David Cockburn, Doctor of Physic of Edinburgh, who was on December 9, 1721,¹ given leave 'to perform Acts for the degrees of Batchelor and Doctor in Physick'. On the 21st of May following at the meeting of the College of Physicians,

'Dr. Molyneux, being Professor of Physick & Censor, hath laid before the College the Praelection of Mr. Cockburn for his Batchelor of Physic's Degree, and that *de Liene* was read through, and found so deficient in the sense, being unintelligible in several parts, and in the Latin being not grammatical in many places, that we are of opinion that the Professor ought not to recommend him to the College for his Batchelor's degree in Physick.

'Ordered, that the President and Fellows attend the Provost and make a report in relation to the Praelection that Mr. Cockburn has read for his Batchelor's degree in Physick.'

As a result of this report we hear no more of Mr. David Cockburn in connexion with Trinity College.

¹ *Reg.*, vol. iii, p. 513.

The lectures in natural philosophy formed an important part of medical teaching, and on October 31, 1722,¹ we find the Board deciding to expend the sum of £100, 'to buy such instruments as are necessary for the course of experimental Philosophy and that the Professors do pay the house yearly the sum of six pounds as interest for the same.'

On February 14, 1722/3,² the Board formally 'resolved that no person be admitted to take a degree in Physick or Laws unless he first commence a Batchelor in Arts.'

About this time there were many changes in the staff of the Medical School. Richard Helsham, who had been appointed Medicus in January, 1706/7, resigned his Senior Fellowship, probably on account of his marriage, on January 16, 1729/30. Edward Hudson was chosen Medicus in his place, but resigned a year later, and on February 8, 1730/1, was succeeded by Edward Molloy. Both these Fellows were clergymen, and neither of them held a medical degree. Molloy resigned on May 23, 1733, and was succeeded by William Clements, who continued as Medicus till his resignation in 1781.

Richard Hoyle, who was the first Lecturer in Anatomy, and who had been re-appointed in place of Bryan Robinson in 1716, died in August, 1730. The Board at their meeting on the 1st of October following appointed Thomas Madden Lecturer in Anatomy. This Thomas Madden was the son of John Madden, M.D., who had been elected a

¹ *Reg.*, vol. iii, p. 523.

² *Ibid.*, p. 524.

Fellow of the College of Physicians in 1684. It was a nephew of this John Madden, a son of Samuel Madden, who in 1798 bequeathed to the College the money to found the Madden Fellowship Prize.¹

On the 22nd October, 1733, Mr. Vessy Shaw, surgeon, was elected 'Anatomist to assist the Anatomy Lecturer', and on May 21st following Francis Foreside was elected Lecturer in Anatomy.

Foreside, an Englishman,² had entered College as a Sizar at the age of 20 on May 30, 1715, and graduated B.A. in 1720, taking his M.B. and M.D. in the summer of 1727 and 1730 respectively. He was admitted a Candidate and Fellow of the College of Physicians in April, 1735. He resigned the Lecturership in January, 1741/2, and in the following month succeeded Henry Cope as Professor of Physic.³ He died in 1745.

In 1717 Dr. William Smyth, senior, had succeeded Dr. Griffith as Lecturer in Chemistry. William Smyth entered Trinity College on June 10, 1684,⁴ at the age of 19, and graduated M.B. in the spring of 1688, and M.D. in 1692. He was the son of the Rev. William Smyth of Armagh, and had been educated in that town. In the Charter of 1692 he was nominated one of the Fellows of the King and Queen's College of Physicians, and held the office of President of the College in the years 1704, 1708, 1719, and 1721. His son William Smyth, junior, was also a distinguished Fellow of

¹ Stubbs, *Hist.*, p. 341; Webb, p. 322.

² Entrance Book, T. C. D.

³ *Reg.*, vol. iv, p. 19.

⁴ Entrance Book, T. C. D.

the College of Physicians. On February 27, 1732/3, 'the Provost and Fellows chose William Stevens Lecturer in Chymistry in ye place of Dr. Smith deceased.' This William Stevens, or Stephens, as his name is more usually spelled, was no relative of Richard Steevens, Professor of Medicine in 1710, who had bequeathed money to found the hospital which still bears his name. William Stephens had graduated M.B. and M.D. in the spring of 1724, having three years previously been admitted a Candidate of the College of Physicians. He was elected Fellow of the College on St. Luke's Day, 1728, and filled the office of President in 1733 and again in 1742. He was one of the Trustees appointed by Mrs. Mary Mercer in the indenture by which she founded Mercer's Hospital on the 20th May, 1734. For many years he served as physician to that hospital, and was nominated as one of its medical governors by the Act of Parliament passed for its incorporation in 1749. He was also for many years physician to Steevens' Hospital. There is no mention in the College records of Stephens having taught botany, yet in 1727 he published a small book of some fifty pages, entitled *Botanical Elements for the use of the Botany School in the University of Dublin*. This book he dedicated to the 'Learned Provost, Fellows and Scholars of Trinity College near Dublin', and states that he published it 'to avoid the trouble of dictating yearly so many pages to the students in Botany'. It is possible that at this time Stephens was a demonstrator to the

lecturer in botany, or he may have been one of those private teachers or grinders who later assisted so much in College teaching. The book has no great merit, as may be judged from the following note on it kindly made by the present Professor of Botany :

' The *Botanical Elements* is merely a much abridged outline of Tournefort's elegant classification of Plants. The book exhibits neither originality nor critical faculty. At the time when it was written Ray's classification was available, yet Stephens ignores it and the recent splendid work of Grew and Malpigi, selecting by preference Tournefort's highly artificial method. In one respect the author shows himself independent of Tournefort's influence, namely in admitting the sexual functions of the stamens and pistil which Tournefort denied.'

Stephens continued to discharge the duties of Lecturer in Chemistry till his death in 1760.

It appears that about the close of the year 1732, Dr. Henry Nicholson, the first Lecturer in Botany, died, and on March 4, 1732/3,¹ the 'Provost and Fellows chose Dr. Chemys to be Professor of Botany'. This Charles Chemys, the son of Ludovicus Chemys or Kemys, was born in Dublin in 1700. He entered Trinity College as a Pensioner at the age of 15, and was elected Scholar in 1717. In 1720 he graduated B.A., taking his M.B. in the spring of 1724, and M.A. in the summer of 1727. He was admitted a Candidate and elected a Fellow of the King and Queen's College of Physicians on December 14, 1730. Chemys only held the office of Lecturer in Botany for a few months, as on September 13, 1733,² 'the Provost and Fellows

¹ *Reg.*, vol. iii, p. 601.

² *Ibid.*, p. 604.

chose Mr. Clements Lecturer in Botany in ye place of Dr. Chemys'. William Clement, or Clements, had, as we have seen, been elected 'into the Physic Fellowship' in the room of Mr. Molloy on the 26th May previously. He was destined for the next fifty years to occupy a very large place in College life. He entered College as a Pensioner on April 28, 1721, at the age of 14, being the son of Thomas Clements, merchant, and having been born at Carrickmacross, Co. Monaghan. In 1724 he was elected Scholar, and he graduated B.A. in 1726 and M.A. in 1731. In 1733 he was elected a Fellow, succeeding Mr. Molloy as Physic Fellow. In May, 1743, he was co-opted a Senior Fellow, and in January, 1744/5, succeeded Dr. Cartwright as Lecturer in Natural and Experimental Philosophy on the foundation of Erasmus Smith, which post he held till 1759. He graduated M.B. in 1747, and M.D. in the following year. He was Donegall Lecturer in Mathematics from 1750 to 1759, and was also Auditor, Librarian, and Vice-Provost of the College. On February 1, 1761, he was elected Professor of Physic, and held that office till November 15, 1781. In 1761 he was also elected one of the representatives of the University in Parliament. During the Provostship of Hely Hutchinson there were many disputes among the Fellows, and the Provost was anxious to secure for himself the support of as many of the Senior and Junior Fellows as he could. There were at that time three Senior Fellows who were married, Dr. Clements, Dr. Leland, and Dr. Dabzac, and

consequently liable to be deprived of their Fellowships. Hutchinson tried to persuade Lord Harcourt to procure a dispensation for the two latter Fellows, but Lord Harcourt declined to do so unless the name of William Clements, Vice-Provost, was included in the list. The Provost strongly objected to this course, but Lord Harcourt insisted on extending the royal favour to the Vice-Provost.¹ Clements resigned the Lectureship of Botany in 1763, but continued Vice-Provost till his death on the 15th January, 1782.

In November, 1729, the President and Fellows of the College of Physicians remodelled the regulations for conducting the examination for medical degrees in the University. It was then decided that a Candidate Bachelor should be examined in (1) Anatomy, (2) Materia Medica, Pharmacy, and Botany, (3) Chemistry, and (4) Pathology. The examination for the degree of Doctor or Licentiate in Physic was to include these four subjects, together with the therapeutic part or *Methodus Medendi* of Pathology, as well as 'practical cases in internal and external diseases to be proposed by the President, together with an explanation of Hippocrates's Aphorisms'. The President and the four Censors of the College were to conduct this examination, each taking a separate part. After this examination a report on the fitness of the candidate was made to the Board, on which depended the granting of a grace for his degree.

¹ Stubbs, *Hist.*, p. 235.

CHAPTER VI

THE KING'S PROFESSORS

THE litigation arising out of Sir Patrick Dun's will dragged on from trial to trial, till at length, in 1740, a decree was obtained from the Court of Chancery, with the consent of all parties, securing to the College of Physicians the reversion of the estate on the death of Lady Dun. The estate in Waterford bequeathed to the College at the time of Dun's death only produced a profit rent of £58 a year,¹ but it was contemplated, even by Dun himself, that on the expiration of the leases, new leases of the lands might be granted which could produce a rent of at least £200 a year. This expectation was soon realized, the estates considerably improved in value, and there was good reason to believe that the improvement would continue.

Under these circumstances the College decided to enlarge the scope of Dun's scheme by the appointment of three Professors instead of one. In order to effect this an Act of Parliament was obtained in the fifteenth year of George II (1741), 'for vacating the Office of the King's Professor of Physick in Dublin upon the death or surrender of the present King's Professor, and for erecting

¹ Dun's deed.

three Professorships of Physick in the said City instead thereof.'

This Act, though expressly declared to be a 'Public Act', is not printed in the Statutes of the Realm, and in subsequent Acts is referred to as of the twenty-first year of George II. Robert Perceval, in his *Account of the Bequest of Sir Patrick Dun*,¹ refers to this Act as printed in 1747, but no copy of this date is now known to exist. The Act was transcribed from the original existing in the Record Office, and in 1867 printed by Trinity College at the University Press. Its provisions are of the greatest importance in the history of the Medical School of Trinity College. Having recited the bequest of Sir Patrick Dun and detailed the subsequent enactments concerning it, the Act proceeded to state that since the estates were so much increased in value, and likely to increase further, it was considered that they were competent to provide for three Professorships instead of one as formerly. Further, since some of the subjects, for the teaching of which Dun made provision, were now taught in Trinity College by Professors appointed subsequent to the execution of Dun's deed, it would be of great advantage to the students of Medicine if three Professors were appointed to teach in the following subjects: (1) Theory and Practice of Medicine; (2) Surgery and Midwifery; and (3) Ancient and Modern Pharmacy and Materia Medica. In consequence of these advantages it seemed good to Parliament,

¹ Perceval, *Account*.

'at the suit of the President of the King and Queen's College of Physicians in Ireland and of Dr. James Grattan, King's Professor of Physick in the City of Dublin,' to recommend 'His Excellent Majesty' to pass this Act. On the next vacancy in the King's Professorship, the Professorship was to be 'utterly dissolved, cease and to be void to all intents and purposes', and in place of it three Professorships in the subjects named above were to be constituted, and come to have 'perpetual continuance and succession'. The electors and the rules governing the elections were identical with those laid down in the Charter of George I, granted in 1715, the candidates being required to submit to examination on three separate days for two hours on each day. A similar preference to that given in the Charter of George I to the descendants of Sir Patrick Dun, was extended to those persons by this Act. It was, however, enacted 'that all Papists and persons professing the Popish religion, or who by any law in this kingdom are deemed Papists, shall be utterly incapable of being elected into any of the Professorships'.

In this enactment we see the influence of that fear of Jacobitism which at the time was introducing so much bitter religious feeling into the country, and was responsible for the penal laws that so long disgraced the Statute Book. A very wise provision was introduced into this Act, by which no person was allowed to hold at the same time more than one of the Professorships on

Dun's foundation, nor was such a Professor allowed to hold at the same time the chair of either Anatomy, Chemistry, or Botany, in Trinity College. The duty of the Professors was to read lectures in the Latin tongue in their respective subjects three times in each week from November to April during term, the lectures to be given in Trinity College. The appointment once made was for life, but any Professor might be deprived of his chair by the President and Fellows of the College of Physicians if it were proved on oath that he continued, after admonition, guilty of either neglect or misbehaviour in the performance of his duties. The whole of the personal and real estate of Sir Patrick Dun was, on the death of Lady Dun, to be vested in the College of Physicians for the support of these three Professors, each of whom was to receive an equal share of the residue after the payment of the necessary charges. The only exception to this was Dun's library, which was to be vested in the President and Fellows, who were, with the consent of the Archbishop and any two of the Professors, to deposit it 'in some convenient place in or near the City of Dublin for the use of the said College of Physicians and of all the said Professors and their successors'.

Lady Dun died in January 1748/9, and was buried in St. Michan's Church beside her husband,¹ and in the same year also Dr. James Grattan, the King's Professor of Physic, died, just as he had entered into the enjoyment of the emoluments of

¹ Belcher, *Memoirs*, p. 63.

his Professorship. On May 20, 1749, Richard Baldwin, *Provost*, Bryan Robinson, *Professor of Physic*, Robert Robinson, *President* of the College of Physicians, with Thomas Lloyd and John Anderson, the two eldest *Censors*, met in the Provost's house, Trinity College, and fixed Monday, Tuesday, and Wednesday, September 25, 26, and 27, at one o'clock in the afternoon, for the examination of candidates for the new Professorships.¹ They also drafted the form of advertisement which was to appear in the gazettes, in which, besides defining the duties of the Professorships according to the Act, it was stated that the present emolument of each Chair was expected to be £90 a year, with the likelihood of an increase. This notice was printed in the *London Gazette* between the 8th and 18th of July, and in the *Dublin Gazette* between July 4 and September 23.

A full description of the subsequent events connected with this election has been preserved in the College of Physicians in a manuscript known as the 'Book of Electors' Proceedings'. We read that the Examinators attended at the Anatomy School in Trinity College on Monday, the 25th of September, 1749, about one o'clock in the afternoon. The following candidates presented themselves—William Stephens, M.D. Dublin; Constantine Barbor, M.D. Dublin; Anthony Rehlan, M.D. Dublin; Henry Quin, M.D. Padua; John M'Michan, M.D. Edinburgh; and Nathaniel

¹ Book of Electors' Proceedings, Col. P.

Barry, M.D. Rheims. The Archbishop administered the oath to the Examinators, and on the first day Dr. Robert Robinson examined in Anatomy and Animal Oeconomy. On the 26th Dr. Lloyd examined in Surgery and Midwifery, and Dr. Anderson in Materia Medica. On the 27th Dr. Bryan Robinson examined in the Theory and Practice of Physic, and the Provost (Dr. Baldwin) in the *Aphorisms* of Hippocrates. On October 2, the Examinators met in the Provost's house and signed a report recommending Henry Quin for the Professorship of Physic, Dr. Nathaniel Barry for the Professorship of Chirurgery and Midwifery, and, with the Provost dissenting, Constantine Barbor for the Professorship of Materia Medica and Pharmacy. This report was published as required by the Act, and on October 25, the Examinators, with the exception of the Provost, met at the Archbishop's Palace to declare the election. As, however, none of the other Guardians attended, the Archbishop adjourned the meeting till November 4, when Archdeacon Reader attended and the election was declared.

With the appointment of the King's Professors the teaching staff of the School was constituted as follows :

UNIVERSITY PROFESSORS

Public Professor of Physic . . .	Bryan Robinson
Medicus and Lecturer in Botany .	William Clements
Lecturer in Chemistry . . .	William Stephens
Lecturer in Anatomy . . .	Robert Robinson
Anatomist	George Whittingham

KING'S PROFESSORS

Theory and Practice of Medicine	.	Henry Quin
Chirurgery and Midwifery	.	Nathaniel Barry
Materia Medica	.	Constantine Barbor

The 'Consuetudines seu Regulae Universitatis Dubliniensis pro Solenniori graduum Collatione' are of uncertain date and origin, but were probably drawn up in the time of Bedell's Provostship, or at latest at the Restoration.¹ MacDonnell in his edition of the Statutes in 1844 states that they were first printed in 1778, but Bolton gives a translation of them in his English edition of the Statutes in 1749. In these 'Regulae' chapter x is entitled 'De Gradibus in Medicina Capessendis'² and of it Bolton gives the following translation :³

'No one shall be admitted to the Degree of Batchelor of Physic, who has not first taken the Degree of Batchelor in Arts, and who has not compleated three years (reckoning from the day of his admission to the Degree of Batchelor in Arts). Whoever applies for the Degree of Batchelor in Physic, shall, before he is proposed for the Grace of the College, solemnly in the publick Hall perform the Part once of Respondent and once of Opponent in two Questions of Physic, from one of the Clock in the Afternoon to three : He shall moreover solemnly and publickly prelect twice on two several Days. No one shall be admitted to the Degree of Doctor in Physic, who has not compleated five years in the Study of Physic, from the time of his being admitted Batchelor ; and who shall not publickly and solemnly prelect four times on four several Days, from one of the Clock in the Afternoon till two. In which Prelections he shall explain

¹ *T. C. D. Cal.*, 1833, p. 58.

² *Statutes T. C. D.*, vol. i, p. 172.

³ Bolton, p. 150.

some part of Hippocrates or Galen ; and shall moreover in the public Hall solemnly perform the Part once of Respondent and once of Opponent, in two Questions in Physic from one of the Clock in the Afternoon to three.'

It was further ordained in the ' Supplicationum Formulae, Alio modo ' that the Degrees of Bachelor and Doctor in Physic may be applied for respectively after ' three several manners '.

' For the Degree of Batchelor in Physic : ¹

' 1st. Whoever begins the study of Physic immediately on his admission into the College by Matriculation, may apply for his Degree after the completion of twenty-four Terms.

' 2dly. If he begins from his being Batchelor in Arts, then after three years.

' 3dly. If from the time of commencing Master, then after two years.

' For the Degree of Doctor in Physic :

' 1st. Six years being compleated from his Batchelor's Degree in said Faculty, which was taken after twenty-four Terms, or six Years from his Matriculation.

' 2dly. Five Years being compleated from his Batchelor's Degree, which was taken, having been before admitted Batchelor of Arts.

' 3dly. Four Years being compleated from his Batchelor's Degree, which was taken, having been before admitted Master of Arts.'

It is further stated that ' the Sum Total of Expences for each Degree ' is as follows :

				£	s.	d.
A.B..	.	.	.	05	:07	:06
A.M..	.	.	.	07	:18	:06
M.B..	.	.	.	10	:05	:00
M.D.	.	.	.	18	:19	:00

¹ Bolton, p. 154.

The cost of the LL.B. and LL.D. Degrees was the same as the M.B. and M.D., while the B.D. cost £12 10s. and the D.D. £23 10s.

It is doubtful how far these 'Regulae' were observed, or what evidence of study was required from the candidates for the medical degrees, but during the second quarter of the eighteenth century quite a number were examined by the Fellows of the College of Physicians and had degrees granted to them by the University. Stubbs in his *History* states that 'from 1724 to 1740 no Medical Degrees appear to have been conferred',¹ but this is not in accord with either the Register of the Board or with the Roll of Graduates published by Todd.

Bryan Robinson, who was at the head of the medical faculty in the University as Public Professor of Physic, was a man of considerable note in his day. We have already met with him as holding the Chair of Anatomy for a short period from September 8, 1716, to June 17, 1717, and as the editor of Helsham's *Lectures in Natural Philosophy*. He was the son of Christopher Robinson, M.D., whose father Bryan is believed to have belonged to the family of Robinson of Newby Hall, Yorkshire.² Bryan was born in Dublin about the year 1680, but we have been unable to find any record of where he was educated. He is not mentioned in the entrance book of Trinity College, and we first meet with him on February 3, 1708/9, when he was given leave 'to perform

¹ Stubbs, *Hist.*, p. 319.

² *Irish Builder*, February 1, 1888.

acts for ye degree of Batchelor of Physic'.¹ In Trinity College he graduated M.B. in the spring of that year, and M.D. in the summer of 1711. In August 1711 he was admitted a Candidate of the College of Physicians, was elected Fellow on May 5, 1712, and held the office of President in 1718, 1727, and 1739. In 1725 he published in Dublin an account of five children who were inoculated for small-pox on August 26 of that year. Robinson had been called in to see these children after the inoculation, and he describes the symptoms of the illness from which two of them died. This book was published in London also in the same year. In 1732 he published his celebrated work on the *Animal Economy*, which went through several editions, and which was violently attacked in a pamphlet by Thomas Morgan, to which Robinson replied in the same year. Robinson seems to have been fascinated with the Philosophy of Newton, and was anxious to apply the mathematical principles of that philosopher to the elucidation of medical problems. Sprengel² describes Robinson as 'l'un des plus célèbres iatromathématiciens de son temps'. The fundamental proposition on which Robinson based his celebrated calculation of the velocity of the circulation of the blood is stated as follows :³

' If a given fluid be moved through a cylindrical Pipe, made of a given sort of matter, by a Force acting constantly and uniformly during the whole Time of the Motion ; its

¹ *Reg.*, vol. iii, p. 422.

² Sprengel, tom. v, p. 173.

³ *Animal Economy*, 2nd edition, 1734, p. 2.

velocity, setting aside the resistance of the Air, will be in a Ratio compounded of the subduplicate Ratio of the moving Force directly, and of the subduplicate Ratio of the Diameter and Length of the Pipe taken together inversely. If F denote the moving Force, D and L the Diameter and Length of the Pipe, and V the Velocity with which the Fluid runs through the Pipe, then V will be proportional to $\sqrt{\frac{F}{DL}}$.

The whole of this work forms a most interesting exposition of the application of mathematics to physiological problems, and would require for its just appreciation a much more intimate knowledge of mathematics than is at the disposal of the writer.

In the Act of Parliament establishing Steevens' Hospital, passed in 1729, Robinson is named a Governor, and on the opening of the Hospital in 1733 he became one of the Physicians. On the 12th June, 1745, he was elected Public Professor of Physic in Trinity College in succession to Henry Cope, and held the post till his death in 1754.

Beside the books already mentioned, Robinson wrote a *Dissertation on the Aether of Sir Isaac Newton*,¹ a *Dissertation on the Food and Discharge of Human Bodies*,² *On the Operations and Virtues of Medicines*,³ and an essay on *Coin*⁴ which was published by his sons after his death.

An account of the case of the late Dr. Bryan Robinson was communicated to the Medical and Philosophical Society of Dublin by Sir Edward

¹ Dublin, 1743.

² Ibid., 1753.

³ Ibid., 1747.

⁴ Ibid., 1757.

Barry, and is preserved in the memoirs of that society.¹ In this account Barry says that Robinson enjoyed good health till 1748, when he became paralytic.

‘ He recovered from thence by reducing the bulk of his body and enjoyed good health for many years, but not with his usual clearness and vigour of mind. For two years before he died this deficiency in his memory and understanding became remarkable. His pulse frequently intermitted. After he had recovered by an exact regimen from the paralysis, he frequently indulged himself in the free use of Wine. He was naturally of a passionate Temper which now Increased, from even the slightest and frequently from no cause.’

After death, Barry says, his heart was found to be ‘ of an uncommon size ’, and he suggests that, ‘ This condition of the Heart evidently accounts for the weak and afterwards intermitting Pulse, and from the Brain being liable, during the imperfect Motion of the fluids, to a Plenitude. Does not it likewise Account for the Passions of his mind after a repletion of Wine, which were chiefly mechanical and put the nervous System in such a Motion as became at last necessary.’

Robert Robinson, who was the Lecturer in Anatomy and President of the College of Physicians, was the second son of Bryan Robinson. He does not appear to have been a graduate of Trinity College, and we have not been able to discover where he took his degrees in Medicine. He was admitted a Candidate and a Fellow of the College of Physicians on the 22nd July, 1740, and ‘ as being a son of a Fellow of this College,

¹ *Medical and Philosophical Memoirs*, vol. ii, p. 79.

was excused ye fees of admission to a fellowship and sworn'.¹ At the time of his election his father was President of the College. Robert Robinson was appointed State Physician by Patent dated 19th February, 1742,² and in 1741 he became Physician in Steevens' Hospital, being elected a Governor there on December 22, 1750. Robert's only child, Elizabeth, married on the 25th May, 1785, Frederick Trench of Woodlawn, who in 1800 was created Baron Ashtown.³

Henry Quin, the King's Professor of Medicine, had entered Trinity College as a Pensioner on July 17, 1733, at the age of fifteen, and was the son of Thomas Quin a Surgeon or Apothecary in Dublin. He graduated B.A. in the spring of 1737, M.B. in 1743, and M.D. in 1750. It is probable that he studied abroad and graduated M.D. in Padua between the time of his taking his Bachelor's degree in Trinity and his appointment as Professor. He was admitted a Candidate of the College of Physicians on October 29, 1750, and elected Fellow on October 28, 1754. It is important to notice that he did not hold any position in the College till after his appointment as Professor. He was afterwards chosen President of the College seven times, in 1758, 1766, 1771, 1774, 1779 (twice), and in 1781. Quin was a musician of considerable ability and used to take part in the fashionable concerts held in the Theatre, Fishamble Street, and he also had a private

¹ Col. P. Minutes.

² Cameron, *Hist.*, p. 105.

³ *Irish Builder*, February 1, 1888.

theatre in his house on the north side of Stephen's Green. He had considerable skill in imitating antique sculptured gems in coloured glass, and in this work he employed as his assistant James Tassie, whom he afterwards enabled to go to London, where he gained great wealth and reputation by the practice of this art. A medal, with the bust of Henry Quin was engraved by William Mossop, sen., in 1783, at the order of Robert Watson Wade, First Clerk of the Treasury. Wade had been a patient of Quin's and under his care he had recovered from an illness which had previously baffled the skill of many of the faculty. As a token of gratitude Wade had a copy of this medal struck in gold and presented to Quin. Dr. A. Smith states that he had seen an impression in silver on the reverse of which were engraved these lines :

The human frame is, Quin, thy debtor,
None but the Maker knows it better.¹

Quin died on the 19th of February, 1791.

Nathaniel Barry, the son of Sir Edward Barry, M.D., Bart., was born in Cork, and entered Trinity College as a Pensioner at the age of fifteen, on January 29, 1739/40. He proceeded to the degree of B.A. in the spring of 1744, and M.B. in 1748, being granted his M.D. in 1751. Like Quin, Barry was not admitted to the College of Physicians till after his appointment as King's Professor. He was admitted a Candidate on June 15, 1752, and

¹ Aquilla Smith, *Cat. Museum Col. P.*, p. 12.

elected a Fellow on St. Luke's day 1758. He was President in the year 1767, and again in 1775. He took the M.D. degree of the University of Rheims, where he went to study after graduating in Dublin. Barry was appointed, jointly with his father, Sir Edward, Physician-General to the Army in Ireland on St. Patrick's day, 1749/50. In 1776, on the death of his father, he succeeded to the baronetcy and died about nine years later.

Constantine Barbor was elected a Scholar of Trinity College in 1732, and graduated B.A. in the spring of 1734. Although he is described in the 'Book of Electors' Proceedings' as M.D. of Dublin, we have not been able to trace either in the College Register or in Todd's *Roll* any entry of such a degree being granted to him. He was admitted a Candidate of the College of Physicians on the 26th February, 1742/3, and elected a Fellow on the 4th May, 1747. In 1754 he was first elected President, and he held that office again in 1764 and 1769.

In a poem descriptive of the Medical Faculty in Dublin, published by John Gilborne, M.D., in 1775, the following lines are devoted to the King's Professors : ¹

Peculiar Laurels the next Three have won,
Professors Royal of *Sir Patrick Dun* ;
A good Physician and a worthy Knight,
To cure not kill was always his delight.
If any Time he drew the trenchant Blade,
The Hand that wounded heal'd the Wounds it made.

¹ Gilborne, p. 17.

Ingenious *Quin*, with Erudition great,
 Averts the Blows of unrelenting Fate :
 He teaches Youth the Cure, the Remedies,
 And various Causes of all Maladies ;
 The speculative theoretic Rule,
 And the best Practice, in the Physic-school.

The God-like *Barry* high in Learning soars,
 His prudent Skill the Sick to Health restores :
 He teaches Midwives how to trace their Clews
 Thro' mazy Labyrinths, and how to use
 Their Instruments he shews Chirurgeons bold ;
 All this in College by the Sage is told.

Wise *Barbor* can prolong the Days of Youth,
 By Maxims founded on undoubted Truth :
 With pharmaceutic Art he plainly shews
 How to prepare, preserve, compound, and chuse
 Drugs, and Materials medical, that will
 All Indications curative fulfil.

With the election of the three King's Professors affairs in the University School seemed to be settled on a satisfactory basis. A fairly complete teaching staff had been appointed, and the examination of candidates for the degrees was, on the Liceat of the University, conducted by the heads of the College of Physicians. It was, however, the custom of the University to give special Graces for degrees to certain individuals, apparently without any examination. Thus, on April 11, 1748, 'the Grace of the house for a Doctor's degree in Physick was given to Henry Smyth, A.M., at the instance of his Royal Highness the Chancellor.' ¹

¹ *Reg.*, vol. iv, p. 76.

The College of Physicians was at this time most jealous as to its privileges of licensing practitioners in both Medicine and Midwifery. The President and Fellows had, at their meeting on May 6, 1745, adopted a resolution that—

‘Whereas it has been found that several persons licensed to practise midwifery only have notwithstanding presumed to practise physick in general; we ye subscribing members of ye College of Physicians have unanimously agreed that we will not for the future consult with any of them as physicians, nor w^b any other person, who is not a graduate or licensed physician of this College.’

This resolution was signed by the President and all the Fellows of the College, as well as by nine of the Candidates and Licentiates.

It should be remembered that the Charter of William and Mary had ordained that no person was entitled to practise physic in Dublin, or within a circuit of seven miles thereof, except he was licensed by the President and Fellows of the College of Physicians, provided always that graduates in Physic of the University of Dublin having performed their full acts be admitted into the College without further examination on the payment of the usual fee. The College of Physicians was also granted power to examine and license all midwives. It was in view of these provisions of the Charter that the University and the College had entered into an agreement whereby the College examined all medical candidates of the University before they were admitted to perform acts for their

degrees. This arrangement seems to have been a very fair one, but it is obvious that the admission of candidates to the degrees of the University by Special Grace and without examination by the College of Physicians was likely sooner or later to lead to friction between the two bodies. On February 19, 1753, the President and Fellows adopted the following resolution : ¹

‘yt no graduate in Physic of ye University of Dublin who hath obtained, or shall obtain, his degree by special grace or favour shall for the future be admitted into ye College of Physicians, or licensed by ye College to Practise Physick.’

At the same meeting at which the above resolution was adopted the President and Fellows further

‘Ordered yt the College of Physicians shall not for the future examine any person who hath or does practise midwifery, for any degree in Physick, or a License in Physick.’

Though the former resolution was one that would commend itself to many as just and fair, the same cannot be said of the latter, and it was this which ultimately led to trouble.

At the meeting of the Board of Trinity College on February 15, 1753 :

‘A Batchelors degree in Arts was granted Speciali Gratia to Fielding Ould for the reasons in the underneath petition. Fielding Ould supplicates the Provost & Senior Fellows to grant him ye Degree of B.A. as a Qualifn. preparatory to his applying for Leave to perform his Degrees in Physic humbly hoping that ye folowg. Circumces. may in some measure recommend him.

¹ Col. P. Minutes.

'He has been 25 years in ye study & practice of Physick, five of wh. were almost intirely employed in disecting for the Any. Lecture of ye Colge. during wh. time he constly. attended ye N. Phily. Chymy. & Botany Lectures, was two years abroad for his furthr. improvemt., on his return was examd. by ye College of Physicians who certified for him yt He was singularly well qualified for ye Profession of Midwifery wh. he hath practised these 15 years past & has published a treatise on yt subject with an approbation of ye Colge of Physicians thereto annexed.'

On January 17, 1757, the College of Physicians passed a resolution :

'that every person who is admitted a Fellow Candidate or Licentiate since May 6th, 1745, do sign the Resolution of that date relating to the Licentiates in Midwifery and that for the future every person that shall apply to be a Fellow or Licentiate shall before his admission sign the said resolution.'

Still there was no rupture between the Colleges and the degree examinations were conducted under the former regulations.

Nothing more was heard of any cause of dispute for a time. On September 30, 1758, Provost Baldwin died at the age of ninety-two, and in the following month Francis Andrews was admitted Provost. On June 2, 1759, the Board granted a Liceat to Fielding Ould for his Bachelor's degree in Physic, and on October 29, 1759, it was resolved at a meeting of the College of Physicians,¹ that :

'Mr. Fielding Ould Licentiate in Midwifery having presented a Liceat from the University of Dublin to be

¹ Col. P. Minutes.

examined for a Batchelours Degree in Physic the College is unanimous in not admitting him to an Examination, as such an admission is contrary to their Laws.'

On February 2, 1760, the Board of Trinity College made the following minute :

' This day a Memorial of Fielding Ould was read setting forth that he had presented the Liceat granted by this Board for his Batchelor's degree in Physic to the President of the College of Physicians, and offered himself ready and willing to undergo their examination and praying that as they had declined examining him he might obtain leave to perform the usual Acts for his Batchelor's Degree in Physic, Ordered by the Board that Fielding Ould A.B. have leave to perform the usual Acts for a Batchelor's degree in Physic and that he acquaint the professor of Physic therewith and that he give the usual notice of the time and subject of his Acts.'

Although this degree is not recorded in Todd's *Roll*, it was evidently granted, for on April 2, 1761, ' Leave was given to Sr Fielding Ould M.B. to perform for a Doctor's Degree in Medicine,'¹ and on June 29 the Grace was passed for this degree, which was conferred at the Summer Commencements.

It was not to be expected that the College of Physicians would submit to this treatment without protest, for, whatever opinion we may now form of the refusal to examine Ould, the action had the unanimous support of the Fellows. Accordingly, at their meeting on February 5, 1761, they unanimously adopted the following resolution :

¹ *Reg.*, vol. iv, p. 166.

‘ That the College of Dublin in conferring a degree in Physic on S^r Fielding Ould Licentiate in Midwifery only, has treated this college with very great and undeserved disrespect.

‘ That the connexion subsisting between this Body and the College of Dublin by virtue of the agreement dated July 25 1701 be dissolved.

‘ That the following letter be sent to the Provost :

‘ S^r The President and Fellows of the College of Physicians from their affection for the Society in which they were educated have for threescore years past submitted to considerable inconvenience solely to give credit and value to the degrees in Physic conferred by the University, at the head of which you have the honour to be placed.

‘ They lament that of late their endeavours have been ineffectual to this purpose, and are justly apprehensive that they are likely to continue so, as your College has thought proper to grant a degree in our Faculty to a person, who had no Academic Education, and whom you know to be disqualified by his occupation for a License to practise in our Profession.

‘ We therefore from the attention which we owe to the welfare of the publick & to ye reputation and ye dignity of our own Body, find ourselves under the necessity of breaking off that connexion which has hitherto subsisted between your Board and ours by agreement of January ye 25th, 1701, and we do hereby declare that for the future we will not examine your candidates nor officiate at the performance of their public acts ; and that we will receive into our College the graduates of other Universities if sufficiently recommended by their learning and morals tho’ not admitted *ad eundem* in yours.’

In consequence of this letter the Board at their meeting on May 16 unanimously resolved : ‘ That a Previous examination of the Candidates for degrees in Medicine is absolutely necessary.’ And

the following letter was written to the University Lecturers, June 9, 1761 :

' Sir, I am directed by the Provost and Senior Fellows to acquaint you that they have resolved to commit the examination of candidates for Degrees in Medicine for ye future to their Praelectors in Chymistry & Anatomy, together with ye Professor of Medicine ; and that it is their intention that their Praelectors shall attend the Professor in all performances of Acts for Medical Degrees. It is also expected that the Praelectors will co-operate with the Professor in settling a scheme for the conduct of these Examinations & Performances in order to give them their due weight and credit ; which scheme is to be laid before the Board for their approbation. I am therefore directed to request that you would signify your sentiments to me with all convenient speed ; as the Provost and Senior Fellows mean to proceed to the final settlement of the manner and order of these Examinations and Performances ; and judge if necessary to carry their intentions into effectual execution without delay.'

On June 29 the Board decided that :

' Whereas the Board have unanimously resolved that for the future no candidate in Physic should be admitted to perform acts till he had been previously examined & returned duly qualified by the Professor of Physic, the Chymistry and Anatomy Lecturer and whereas Dr. Robert Robinson refuses to co-operate therein with the above gentlemen it is hereby ordered that another Anatomy Lecturer shall be chosen, and that the Board shall proceed to the election of a proper person to fill the said office on Tuesday the 14th of July next.'

Thus in 1761 Robert Robinson was dismissed from the Chair of Anatomy just as his father Bryan had in 1717 been turned out 'by the majority of voices'.

Of the other Professors, Dr. Edward Barry had resigned the Professorship of Physic on February 12, 1761, and on the 21st Dr. Clements, Lecturer in Botany, and a Fellow of Trinity College, had been appointed in his stead. William Stephens, who had been Lecturer in Chemistry since 1732, had died in 1760, and on July 12 of that year Francis Hutcheson had been chosen in his place. Hutcheson, though a Licentiate, was not, at this time, a Fellow of the College of Physicians.

Fielding Ould, who was the apparently innocent cause of this rupture between the Colleges, was a most distinguished man in his profession. Colonel Ould, the grandfather of Fielding, was a soldier in the army of King William, and commanded the Royal Regiment of Welsh Fusileers in the Battle of the Boyne. His son, Captain Ould, also belonged to this regiment, and when quartered with it in Galway after the war, he married there a Miss Shawe. Two sons resulted from this marriage, Fielding, and Abraham, who afterwards became a Barrister.

Fielding Ould was born about 1710, and on the death of his father, who was murdered in London shortly after his marriage, Ould's mother returned to her father's house in Galway, and there her two sons were educated. Ould, as he tells in his petition to the Board, acted for some time as prosector to the Lecturer in Anatomy and attended lectures in the School of Trinity College, though he does not appear to have been a Matriculated Student of the University. While abroad he

studied for some time in Paris, as he tells us in the preface of his book, and eventually settled in Dublin about 1736 or 1737. On August 16, 1738, he was admitted a Licentiate of Midwifery of the College of Physicians, having, on examination, been 'found singularly well qualified'.

In 1742 he published in Dublin 'A Treatise of Midwifery in Three Parts', which is dedicated to the 'President, Censors, & Fellows of the College of Physicians', and bears the imprimatur of the College. This is the first of a long list of writings on obstetrics by Dublin men, writings which have added, and are still adding, no little lustre to the reputation of the Dublin School. M'Clintock,¹ writing of Ould's book, says :

'If we except the writings of Chapman and Sir Richard Manningham, it was in fact the first obstetric treatise having any pretensions to merit and originality which appeared in the English language. But, independently of this, the work possessed intrinsic merits of a superior kind, and contained many new observations of great importance : so much so that we would leave it to any impartial and competent reader to say whether it is not superior to any English obstetric treatise published before that of Smellie in 1752.'

On the death in 1759 of Bartholomew Mosse, the founder and first Master of the Rotunda, Ould was appointed second Master of the Hospital, which post he filled for seven years, during which time 3,800 women were confined in the Hospital, with 48 deaths. In May 1760 he was knighted by the Duke of Bedford, the Lord Lieutenant of

¹ M'Clintock, *Dub. School of Midwifery*, p. 7.

Ireland, which honour gave rise to the following epigram :

Sir Fielding Ould is made a Knight,
He should have been a lord by right ;
For then each Lady's prayer would be,
O Lord, Good Lord, deliver me !

Ould lived for many years in 21 Frederick Street, and died there on November 29, 1789.

It is not very easy to give a satisfactory explanation of the refusal of the College of Physicians to examine Fielding Ould. It is possible that it was as much the result of personal jealousy as a matter of principle. Whatever may have been the cause the College did not bear any permanent ill-feeling to Ould, as he was admitted a Licentiate on October 3, 1785.

CHAPTER VII

THE PROFESSORSHIP OF GEORGE CLEGHORN

IN pursuance of the resolutions quoted in the last chapter the Board proceeded to the election of a new Lecturer in Anatomy, and on July 14, 1761, George Cleghorn, the anatomist, was appointed. The position of 'Anatomist', or 'University Anatomist' as it is now called, is first mentioned in 1716, when, on September 8, Surgeon Green was appointed by the Board to officiate in that capacity. Of this William Green, 'of the City of Dublin Chirurgeon,' little is known, except that he continued as anatomist till his death in 1733. In his will, which was signed on April the 12th of that year, and proved in June, he left one-third of his property to his 'dear wife Anne Green', and the other two-thirds to be divided between his son and two daughters. Green was in office when Bryan Robinson was 'turned out from being Anatomist', and on the same day the Board 'ordered that the Bursar pay sixty pounds to Surgeon Green in order to purchase preparations for illustrating several parts of the human body'. Unfortunately no record remains of how this money was spent, or what sort of 'preparations' were purchased.¹ On the death of Green the

¹ *Reg.*, vol. iii, p. 480.

Board, on October 22, 1733, elected Mr. Vessy Shaw, surgeon, 'to assist the Anatomy Lecturer'.¹ Shaw resigned his office on the 14th of June, 1743, and died three years later, his will being proved on the 4th of January, 1747/8. On Shaw's resignation, Mr. George Whittingham 'was chosen into his place', which he resigned on the 10th September, 1753. Whittingham, who lived in Grafton Street, was for many years one of the surgeons to Mercer's Hospital, and was nominated one of the Governors in the Act of Parliament incorporating that institution, which was passed in 1749. He died in July, 1773, and in his will, which was dated on the 15th of that month, and proved on the 6th of August, he left a bond of £600 to Mercer's Hospital, provided his 'Apprentice John Bell shall be allowed to attend the said Hospital as usual during the remainder of his apprenticeship'.

Between 1730 and 1760 there were added to the Anatomical Museum of the College several interesting specimens which long attracted attention. Of these the most remarkable was the skeleton of William Clark, an excellent example of the condition known as *Myositis ossificans*. This man was born in Newmarket, Co. Cork, in 1677, and died in 1738, when his skeleton was procured by Sir Edward Barry, who afterwards presented it to the College. Smith in his history of Co. Cork, published in 1750,² gives an account of this man,

¹ *Reg.*, vol. iii, p. 604.

² Smith, *Cork*, vol. ii, p. 426.

and states that Barry had 'composed a learned and accurate tract on the subject', but this we believe was never published.

Smith tells us that

'his under jaws being fixed, he could never open his mouth, but his teeth, being broken by some accident, he sucked in spoon meat which was his chiefest food. He spent the greater part of his time preparing his diet ; when he took any solid food he laid it on a large flat knife, and pressed it with a stick made for the purpose, and so forced it within his teeth. Though he was often intoxicated with liquor, he never vomited but once, and was then very near being suffocated. When he walked, he was always obliged to step first with the right foot, which he did with much difficulty, he then dragged the left foot to the right heel. When he fell by accident, he was never able to rise without assistance. When he lay down, he had cavities made in his bed, in which he placed his hips, heels and elbows. In his youth he made a shift to creep with difficulty through the village of Newmarket ; but as he advanced in years, he grew more inactive, so that at last he could scarce go the length of Mr. Aldworth's kitchen, where he spent most of his time. That gentleman maintained him in charity while he lived ; the only use he was capable of being put to was that of watching the workmen, for when he was once fixed in his station, it was impossible for him to desert it. He generally stood in a kind of sentry-box with a board placed in a groove as high as his breast for him to lean upon. He had always a bony excrescence issuing out of his left heel, which sometimes grew to the length of about two inches, and when it shed, as a deer does its horns, it still continued to sprout as before.'

Another specimen in the School was the skeleton of Cornelius Magrath, the Irish giant, who had

suffered during life from acromegaly. He had exhibited himself as a giant in various cities in Ireland, England, and on the Continent, and died in College Green in May, 1760, at the age of 24. He was stated to be 7 feet 8 inches high, and his hands 'were as large as a middling shoulder of mutton'. Magrath, like Clark, came from Cork, though born in Tipperary, and he had been for some time cared for by the charitable Bishop Berkeley. It was afterwards stated that his abnormal stature was the result of experiments made on him by the good bishop. In the *Philosophic Survey of the South of Ireland*¹ the story is given as follows :

'The Bishop had a strange fancy to know whether it was not in the power of art to increase the human stature. And this unhappy Orphan appeared to him a fit subject for trial. He made his essay according to his preconceived theory, whatever it might be, and the consequence was that he became seven feet high in his seventeenth year.'

Macalister says that Doctor Beatty used to tell the story of how Magrath's body was obtained for the College.² Beatty's father was at the time of Magrath's death a student in the College, and he used to say that when Robinson heard of the giant's death, he addressed his class as follows : 'Gentlemen, I have been told that some of you in your zeal have contemplated the carrying off of the body. I most earnestly beg of you not to think of such a thing : but if you should be so

¹ p. 187.

² Macalister, *Macartney*, p. 16.

carried away with your desire for knowledge that thus against my expressed wish you persist in doing so, I would have you remember that if you take only the body, there is no law whereby you can be touched, but if you take so much as a rag or a stocking with it it is a hanging matter.' The students took the hint, and attended the 'wake' of the giant, and as the evening progressed, drugged the whisky used in the celebrations. The friends gradually dropped to sleep, and then a number of the students carried off the body unmolested to the College. When the robbery was discovered on the next morning, the friends came with indignant protests to the Provost, and demanded the return of the corpse. The Provost sent for Robinson, but the Professor assured him that so great was the diligence of the College students that the body was already dissected. Beatty said he had met Robinson on his way from the Provost's house, and that he stopped at intervals chuckling to himself, 'Divil a knife's in him yet !' The Provost is said to have compounded handsomely with the angry friends, but the fact that an account of the giant's death and of the public lecture read on the dissection of the body was published in a Dublin newspaper rather throws discredit on the story.

A full account of this skeleton has been published in the *Transactions of the Royal Irish Academy*, by the late Professor Cunningham.¹

Other specimens which attracted much attention were the celebrated 'wax-works'. These were life-

¹ Cunningham, *Magrath*.

size models of the human body in various stages of dissection. They had been modelled in wax on human skeletons, admirably articulated, by M. Denoué, Professor of Anatomy in the Academy of Sciences in Paris. It is said that the work occupied the Professor for nearly forty years. Macalister¹ tells us that these wax models were brought to London by a sculptor named Rackstow, who, on the advice of a certain Dr. Scott, brought them to Dublin, where they were purchased by the Earl of Shelbourne, and given to the University in 1739. The tradition in the College was that Dean Swift had instigated the noble lord to this purchase, but of this we have no documentary evidence. Macalister gives as the authority for his statements an old catalogue, compiled in 1811, by a head porter of the College. Most of the guide-books to Dublin, describing these models, give the date of their presentation as about 1752. These wax models received rather bad usage at the time the old Anatomy house was replaced by the new Medical School in the beginning of the last century, but the fragmentary remains of them are still preserved in Trinity College.

On the day of Whittingham's resignation of the 'place of Anatomist', Mr. George Cleghorn was chosen in his stead, and continued in office till he was promoted lecturer. The post of University Anatomist then appears to have been allowed to fall into abeyance for nearly a hundred years. There were at various times persons appointed to

¹ Macalister, *Hist. Anat.*, p. 12.

assist the Professor, but they were no longer called 'the Anatomist'.

Lying along the southern shore of the Frith of Forth, in the neighbourhood of Edinburgh, is situated the parish of Cramond, and 'the farm of Granton in this parish was for a long series of years occupied by a worthy race of farmers of the name of Cleghorn'.¹ Of this stock and in this place George Cleghorn was born on the 18th of December, 1716, and three years later his father died, leaving a widow and five children. George, who was the youngest of the family, was educated in the parish school at Cramond, and at twelve years of age was sent to Edinburgh for further instruction in the classics and modern languages. After three years spent in this way he began the study of medicine, being placed under the tuition of Alexander Monro, and allowed to reside in his house. While a student in the University of Edinburgh, Cleghorn formed a close friendship with Fothergill, and was one of the five students who founded in Edinburgh the society afterwards known as the Royal Medical Society. In a letter of Dr. Cuming to Dr. Lettsom we read of the origin of this society, and are told that the paper which formed the agenda for the third meeting was read by Cleghorn, the subject being 'Epilepsy'.²

Cleghorn appears to have been a most industrious student. He so gained the goodwill of his teachers that in 1736 he was, on the recommenda-

¹ Wood's *Cramond*, p. 121.

² Pettigrew's *Lettsom*, vol. iii, p. 288.

tion of Dr. St. Clair, appointed surgeon to the 22nd Regiment of Foot, then stationed at Minorca, under the command of General St. Clair. He remained for thirteen years on the island, and devoted his time to the study of his profession and the collection of materials for his work on the diseases of the island. It was during his stay at Minorca that his friend, Dr. Cuming, writing on August 14, 1742, says of him :

‘Thou wilt no doubt admire the industry of our friend Cleghorn who, situate in a corner of the world, has made greater progress than any of us who do not even want the proper aids of study. Let us therefore stimulate one another that we may follow his footsteps and become the worthy friends of so great a man.’¹

Cleghorn was at this time in constant correspondence with Fothergill, who kept him supplied from London with the books that he required for study. On leaving Minorca in 1749, Cleghorn came to Ireland with his regiment, but left shortly afterwards for London to superintend the publication of his book on the *Epidemic Diseases in Minorca from the year 1744 to 1749*. This work was first published in London in 1751, and eventually went through five English editions, the last being published in London in 1815.² In 1776 it was translated into German by T. C. G. Ackermann, and published in Gotha. While in London Cleghorn attended the anatomical lectures of Dr. Hunter, and so prepared himself for his future life's work as Lecturer in Anatomy in Dublin.

¹ Lettsom, *Fothergill*, p. 98.

² Irvine.

On the publication of his book Cleghorn returned to Dublin, and was, as we have seen, on the 10th of September, 1753, elected as Anatomist to succeed Mr. Whittingham. In 1756 he published in Dublin a small octavo pamphlet, entitled *Index of an Annual Course of Lectures by George Cleghorn, Anatomist to Trinity College, and Surgeon in Dublin*. This is really a syllabus of his lectures, and is the first anatomical work published in connexion with the School.

As we have seen, the dispute between the Colleges over the degree of Sir Fielding Ould led to the appointment, in July, 1761, of Cleghorn as Lecturer in Anatomy, and he seems to have at once entered on a large and lucrative practice as a surgeon in Dublin. In 1762 he sent a paper to the Medical Society of London, in which he describes how he extracted 'the third or fourth feather of a goose's wing' from the throat of a young lady who had swallowed it. The instrument he used was a flexible whalebone with a spring and strings attached to it. He tells us that Mr. Tuckey of Dublin had, some years before, added the strings to this instrument.¹

In 1765 he described to the same society a case of aneurysmal varix in the arm of a boy aged 17, which had resulted from a bleeding some years before. The patient, he tells us, was 'shown at the College to the Students who attend my lectures'.²

On September 9, 1768, the Board granted a

¹ *Med. Obs.*, vol. iii, p. 7.

² *Ibid.*, p. 110.

grace for a Doctor's degree in Physic to Cleghorn,¹ and on the 13th of the same month his Grace the Duke of Bedford, Chancellor of the University, attended by the Provost, Fellows, and Professors, habited in their proper robes, visited the laboratory, Anatomy School, and waxworks. Under the influence of Cleghorn the Medical School increased considerably as regards the numbers of students attending. We have not been able to get any records of the actual numbers, but there were sufficient students to make the lecture-room uncomfortably crowded. Writing in 1782 to his friend Dr. Cuming, Cleghorn says :²

'In the year 1772 increasing business and declining health obliged me to commit the chief care of my annual anatomical course for the instruction of students in Physic and Surgery to my favorite pupil, Dr. Purcell, who has not only kept it up ever since, but improved it so as to advance its reputation and his own ; yet still I continue to read, as I have done for upwards of twenty years, to a crowded audience, a short course of Lectures the design of which is to give to *general* scholars a comprehensive view of the Animal Kingdom, and to point out to them the conduct of nature in forming their various tribes and fitting their several organs to their respective modes of life ; this affords me an opportunity of exciting in my hearers an eager desire for Anatomical knowledge, by shewing them a variety of elegant preparations and raising their minds from the creature to the Creator whose power, wisdom and goodness is nowhere displayed to greater advantage than in the formation of Animals.'

On the 23rd March, 1775, the Board³ 'resolved

¹ *Reg.*, vol. iv, p. 212.

² Lettsom, *Fothergill*, 1786, p. 235.

³ *Reg.*, vol. iv, p. 315.

that the present Anatomy house be taken down, and that another be built on the ground lying on the north-side of the Parliament Square', but nothing seems to have come of this resolution at the time, any more than did of the request made to the Provost on the 21st January previously, that he would 'look out for a piece of ground proper and convenient for a Botany Garden'.¹

The Provost at this time was the Right Hon. John Hely Hutchinson, commonly known as 'the Prancer', from his fondness for dancing. He seems to have been more anxious for the physical welfare of the students than for their medical studies, for on August 4, 1774, the Board had under consideration a scheme for hiring a riding house for the use of the students.²

About 1774 Cleghorn's only brother, John, died in Scotland, leaving his widow, Barbara, and nine children, and this family Cleghorn brought to Dublin in order that he might superintend their education. Three of these, William, James, and Thomas, were educated for the medical profession, and studied with their uncle in the Trinity College School, and subsequently in Edinburgh. William was born at Granton, on October 30, 1754, and graduated B.A. in Trinity College in the spring of 1777. He then went to study in Edinburgh, and took his medical degree there in 1779, reading a thesis *De Igne*. For some time he travelled on the Continent, and on his return to Dublin the Board, on October 27, 1781, at the request of his

¹ *Reg.*, vol. iv, p. 299.

² *Reg.*, vol. iv, p. 297.

uncle, 'Lecturer in Anatomy and Anatomist', elected him into 'those places to hold them jointly with his said uncle'.¹ Young Cleghorn did not live long to assist his uncle in the Anatomy School, for he died, as the result of an attack of fever, on April 20, 1783.² Cleghorn had various assistants in the anatomical department, who, however, did not hold their appointments from the Board. Thus we have seen that he was in 1772 assisted by his favourite pupil, Dr. Purcell, and after the death of his nephew, William, he had for some years the assistance of Joseph Clarke, who had married his niece, Isobel. Joseph Clarke, the son of James Clarke, a farmer in the parish of Desertlin, in County Londonderry, was born on April 8, 1758. He was educated at the district school, and then in Glasgow, after which he studied medicine in Edinburgh, and graduated there in 1779, as he tells us, 'with great ease to myself and some reputation', reading a thesis *De Putredine in Typho coercenda*. He then came to Dublin to stay with his grand-uncle, Dr. Machonchy, an obstetrician with a considerable practice. In March following he left to travel on the Continent as medical attendant to the son of a Mr. Rowley, and was away for about fourteen months. Returning to Dublin, he made the acquaintance of Dr. Cleghorn, and on his advice entered as a pupil at the Rotunda Hospital, where he was appointed Assistant Master on the 28th March, 1783. In June of this year he again went abroad, this time in charge of

¹ *Reg.*, vol. iv, p. 479.

² *Edn. Med. Com.*, vol. ix, p. 472.

a Mr. John Jacob, of County Tipperary. This visit, however, was a short one, for as he tells us, his patient was in love with a Miss Gahen, and therefore contrived to shorten his intended absence, and Clarke was back again at his duties in the Rotunda by September. On April 11, 1785, he was admitted a Licentiate of the College of Physicians, and on the 7th of April of the next year he married Isobel Cleghorn, with whom he 'got a fortune of fifteen hundred pounds'. On the 3rd of November of that year he was elected Master of the Rotunda Hospital. Very shortly after he settled in Dublin he became an assistant to Cleghorn, and from about 1784 he seems to have been practically in charge of the Anatomical department. In a letter written by Cleghorn to Clarke, and dated 'Kilcartey December 18 1787', he says: 'I shall always acknowledge my obligation to you for the ready and willing assistance you gave me in carrying on the lectures for these three years past.' Clarke's last division of the profits of the Anatomical School was in July of 1788, when he received as his share £60 7s. 7d.¹ Thus for about two years Clarke occupied what seems to us the very anomalous position of being at the same time the head of a great lying-in hospital, and chief working officer of an anatomical department.

Clarke's connexion with the Rotunda is specially remarkable for two things, first for the reduction in the infant mortality consequent on the adoption of the methods suggested by him, and secondly

¹ Collins, p. 17.

that he was the first Master to publish a full report of the working of the hospital. From the time of the opening of the hospital to Clarke's appointment as Master, one out of every six children born alive had died of convulsions, or what were termed 'nine day fits'. Clarke attributed this mortality to bad ventilation in the wards, and advocated the adoption of measures¹

'which provided for a free and easy passage of fresh air at all times through the wards and which were executed in such a manner as not to leave it in the power of nurse-tenders or patients to control; the number of beds, also, in the large wards was reduced, and several changes were made in their construction which rendered them more airy and more easily kept clean'.

In the six years which followed these changes the mortality was reduced to 1 in 19.3, and in the twenty-five years, 1823-47, the mortality was further reduced to 1 in 108. In his report² of the hospital, which embraces the period between January 1, 1787, and October 1, 1793, there were, he reports, 10,387 women confined, of whom 125 died. When Clarke was seeking the appointment of Master of the Rotunda he asked Cleghorn for a letter of recommendation, and received the following reply,³ which gives one a good idea of the writer's character:

' July 1786.

' My DEAR CLARKE,

' I received your letter, requesting one from me to Dr. Halliday. My stomach revolts against the usual

¹ Collins, p. 20.

² *Trans. Col. P.*, vol. i, p. 400.

³ Collins, p. 23.

mode of extracting promises, and engaging votes, before the Governors can be sufficiently apprized of the merits of the candidates. It is founded on a supposition that all men are actuated by selfish motives, regardless of the public good, and that they never consider whether their friend be fit for the place he wishes for provided the place be fit for him. If you gain the election I hope it will be by means fair and honourable ; I would rather hear you had lost it, than that any others had been employed. The more a good character is inquired into, it will be so much the better for him that owns it ; you must, therefore, be the gainer by standing the election, even should you fail of success, provided you are not too anxious about the matter, and suffer your mind to be too much dejected by a disappointment which could not have happened had merit been regarded, and which, after all, may probably tend more to your advantage than success would have done. Read the tenth satire of Juvenal, and reflect on the vanity of human fears and wishes.

Believe me ever yours etc., GEORGE CLEGHORN.'

Clarke died in Edinburgh, where he had gone to attend a meeting of the British Association, on September 11, 1834.

James Cleghorn having graduated B.A. in Trinity College in the summer of 1784, returned from travelling on the Continent and took his M.B. degree in Trinity College in the summer of 1787, and the following year took charge, for his uncle, of the Anatomical School. George Cleghorn at this time lived almost entirely at his country house, Kilcarty, in Co. Meath. He was then in bad health, as he tells Dr. Lettsom in a letter ¹ dated ' Kilcartey ', December 29, 1786 :

¹ Pettigrew, *Lettsom*, vol. ii, p. 364.

' early in April asthmatic fits and swelled legs had obliged me to leave Dublin, and retire to the country with a fixed resolution never again to resume the practice of Physic in the metropolis, having learned by dear-bought experience, that I was no longer able to climb up two or three pair of stairs to bed-chambers and nurseries, supporting a weighty corporation of nineteen stone and a half on a pair of oedematous legs, and panting like a broken winded horse, before I got half way up. . . . About the middle of October I was under the disagreeable necessity of returning to Dublin, in order to begin the anatomical lectures which I was unwilling to give up, until my nephew should be further advanced in his studies, and have a better chance for the Professorship, when it shall be declared vacant. I went through the public lectures to the Gentlemen of the University as usual ; and opened the public course for Students of Medicine, with a few introductory lectures, and at the same time informed them that I meant to superintend the course. I could not promise constant attendance, and must trust this laborious task to the care of my two nephews, whose activity directed by my experience, I had good reason to believe would enable them to acquit themselves to the satisfaction of their pupils. Accordingly Dr. Clarke has gone through the general lectures and the osteology ; and we every day expect James's return to carry on the dissections pursuant to an advertisement in the newspapers, before my return to Dublin. I have steadily declined all business of my profession, out of doors (except that of the theatre), and only see such patients as come to my house on three days a week. I was glad to take the opportunity, which the holidays afford, of paying a visit of a few days to this retreat, which I consider as my home and where I have every conveniency that can contribute to my health and my amusement.'

On November the 8th, 1784, Cleghorn was elected an Honorary Fellow of the College of Physicians,

having in 1777, on the foundation of the Royal Medical Society of Paris, been nominated a Fellow of that body. He was one of the original members of the Royal Irish Academy, but did not contribute any papers to its *Transactions*. He died at Kilcarty on Tuesday, December 22, 1789, and in the newspaper¹ account he is described as 'a gentleman where ever known esteemed and beloved, and where ever heard of respected. For a series of years supporting with singular honour one of the most distinguished characters in his profession, he was the first person that established what could with any degree of propriety be called a school of anatomy in this Kingdom; which long flourished with still increasing splendour and utility under his auspices and direction and remains a lasting monument of his industry, spirit, and genius'.

In his will he left to his nephew George his estates in County Meath, and to his nephews, James and Thomas, 'to be equally divided between them according as they shall agree, or as referees to be chosen by themselves shall award, all the Greek and Latin books in my library and all other my books and manuscripts relating to the study of nature, Philosophy and the different branches of Medicine as also the whole of my Anatomical apparatus and Chirurgical Instruments.' Thus passed from the School full of years and full of honour one who in his thirty-six years' service had spread its fame through the length and breadth of the land, and who had attracted

¹ Flynn's *Hibernian Chronicle*, Cork, December 28, 1789.

to his teaching students from beyond the seas. His name is rightly enrolled among those who have done the highest honour to the University, not only by the excellence of their own work, but by the high standard which their example has set to their successors.

Of the other departments of the School there is little to record. The three King's Professors were supposed to lecture in the Theory of Medicine, the Institutes of Medicine, and in *Materia Medica* and Pharmacy, but in view of the evidence given before the Parliamentary Committees of 1756 and 1783, it is doubtful if they ever did.

Francis Hutcheson had on July 12, 1760, succeeded to the Lectureship in Chemistry left vacant by the death of William Stephens. It is noteworthy that at this election the Board made an appointment tenable for seven years, a period which was subsequently adopted by Act of Parliament, and still limits the tenure of most of the chairs in the Medical School. This Francis Hutcheson was the son of the Francis Hutcheson who had been appointed Professor of Moral Philosophy in the University of Glasgow on December 19, 1729. The future chemist was educated in Glasgow University, and graduated M.A. there in 1744, and M.D. in 1759.¹ We know little of Hutcheson from the time he took his M.A. in Glasgow till he was admitted Licentiate of the College of Physicians in January 1754, and was appointed Physician to the Meath Hospital. In 1755 he

¹ Scott's *Hutcheson*, p. 143.

published in Glasgow two volumes of his father's work on Moral Philosophy. On his appointment to the Chair of Chemistry, Hutcheson seems to have devoted considerable energy to the discharge of his duties, and on November 22, 1761, the Board granted him the degree of Doctor in Physic. In the *Public Gazetteer*, published in Dublin by W. Sleater on Monday, October 13, 1761, there appears the following advertisement :

'Trinity College. General Lectures in Chemistry, Shewing its Connection with Natural Philosophy and Arts, will begin at the Laboratory on Monday the 16th of November, at one o'Clock and be continued every day Saturday and Sunday excepted. The Doors will be open to all Gentlemen who choose to attend. After these are finished which will be before Monday the 7th of December, at the same Place will begin a Private Course of Experimental Chemistry, consisting of about Sixty Lectures, in which its Principles and Operations will be practically applied to Arts, Manufactures, Agriculture, and especially to Pharmacy and Medicine. Price Three Guineas.

'By Francis Hutcheson M.D. Prelector of Chemistry in the University. Gentlemen who propose to attend the Private Course are expected to give in their names before the Public Lectures begin.'

On November 3, 1767, Hutcheson resigned his post in Trinity College, having just completed his seven years' service in the Chair, and having on the day before been elected a Fellow of the College of Physicians. In 1777, and again in 1780, he was elected President of the College. He lived for many years in 32 Stafford Street. He married a Miss Sarah Card, by whom he had one son, Francis, and three daughters. His connexion with

the Meath Hospital as Physician only lasted about a year, but he was for some time Physician to the Lock Hospital. He died in August 1784. Hutcheson has frequently been confused with a Francis Hutchinson, the son of the Rev. Samuel Hutchinson, of Co. Down, who graduated B.A. in Trinity College in 1745 and M.A. in 1748.¹

On the resignation of Hutcheson, James Span was elected to the Chair of Chemistry. He had on the 12th of February, 1763, been granted his degrees of Bachelor and Doctor of Physic and elected Lecturer in Botany as successor to William Clements. Span affords the only example of an individual holding at the same time two of the teaching chairs in the Medical School, a condition of things which was strictly forbidden by subsequent Acts of Parliament. Span had been elected a scholar in 1752, and had taken his B.A. degree in the spring of 1754. He was admitted a Licentiate of the College of Physicians in September 1768, and elected Fellow in the following May. He appears to have been popular with his colleagues in the profession, if one may judge by the following lines, published shortly after his death by Gilborne:²

James Span shakes off the mortuary Gloom,
His bright endowments still retain their Bloom ;
On Earth lamented, and admir'd above,
His lovely Virtues made him dear to Jove :
Daisies and Roses spring where'er He treads,
Tulips and Lillies rear their drooping heads ;
Nor do Plants sensitive his Touch avoid,
Who for Man's good had all his Thoughts employ'd.

¹ Ormsby, p. 90.

² Gilborne, *Med. Rev.*, line 51.

Span died in 1773, and his chairs were filled by the appointment on September 25, 1773, of James Thornton as Professor of Chemistry and of Edward Hill as Professor of Botany.

James Thornton had entered Trinity College as early as 1735, and graduated B.A. in 1739, taking his M.B. in 1748, and his M.D. in 1773. On January 17, 1774, he was admitted a Licentiate of the College of Physicians, and the same day was elected a Fellow. He resigned his Fellowship on September 20, 1781, and died two years later in 1783. In connexion with the appointment of Thornton, Edward Hill, writing of Perceval in 1805, makes the following statement :¹

‘ The Lecturership of Chemistry in Trinity College having become vacant on the decease of Dr. James Span in the year 1773, Doctor James Thornton, educated, no man knew where, and coming, no man knew from whence, presented himself as a candidate for that place ; Although he was neither a man of learning, nor a Chymist, his deficiency in those points constituted no impediment to his solicitation, and he was elected. He performed the duties of his appointment to the utmost of his abilities, and in undisturbed tranquillity, till the time of this Gentleman’s return from his studies abroad, when he immediately commenced his artful practices upon the Members of the Board, who, *on the 30th of November in the year 1782, granted to Doctor Perceval the use of the Chemical Laboratory, with the privilege of giving Lectures there.* This Act of unprecedented supersession so shook the mind of the weak, irascible hypochondriac, that, on the 17th of the following May, he made his quietus, not with a bodkin, but with a copious dose of Opium.’

¹ Hill’s *Address* (2), p. 38.

He further suggests that 'Humanity created a powerful motive' to Thornton's election, 'for the Salary of that Lecturership supplied the chief support of his life, as he drew no emolument for the exercise of his medical Profession.'

Barrett refers to this unfortunate incident as follows :¹

'I perfectly remember the report of the College in 1783 of quarrelling between Dr Thornton and Dr Perceval (whose friend Mr Hall had probably engaged in his favour some members of the Board) and I have learned from Dr Hill that it is perfectly well understood in the College of Physicians that Dr Thornton upon Dr Perceval informing him he should be displaced (and note Dr Thornton was a man of no business, but depended chiefly for support on his place in College) went and purchased an ounce of the tincture of opium which he drank in whey and was found dead in his bed next morning. He told his servant not to be in a hurry to waken him next morning, for that he would sleep long enough.'

We must remember, however, that at this time Hill was carrying on a bitter personal controversy with Perceval. For some time before his death Thornton seems to have been unable to attend to his lectures, and the resolution of the Board referred to by Hill was probably in consequence of this fact. The resolution of the Board was ²

'That Mr. Robert Perceval, Physician, shall on the first opportunity be elected Lecturer in Chymistry and that in the mean time he shall have permission to read lectures in that Science in the College, and to make use of the Laboratory.'

¹ Barrett, *Book*, p. 92.

² *Reg.*, vol. iv, p. 480.

In accordance with this resolution, on May 17 following, Robert Perceval was elected Lecturer in Chemistry, and directed to 'furnish the Laboratory with such requisites as he shall find necessary for the conduct of his lectures for this year, at the expence of the College'.¹

In the following November the Bursar was directed to provide cases for the chemical apparatus, the ores and other minerals which had been presented to the College by Perceval. The Bursar was also to inform Dr. Perceval 'that the Board will agreeably to his desire as the circumstances of the College may permit, add from time to time to that collection, and give such other further aid to his very laudable endeavours to place that Lecture on a respectable footing'.²

Like Perceval, Hill too was an energetic Lecturer, and on 12th March, 1774, the Board granted him the use of the Printing-house for five years. We are not told for what purpose this was given, but doubtless it was to relieve the overcrowding in the old Anatomy house. It was probably at Hill's instigation that the Provost was requested 'to look out for a piece of ground proper and convenient for a Botany Garden'. The establishment of such a garden was, as we shall see later, a project very near the heart of Dr. Hill.

¹ *Reg.*, vol. iv, p. 492.

Ibid., p. 505.

CHAPTER VIII

THE FIRST SCHOOL OF PHYSIC ACT

AT the meeting of the Board of Trinity College, on May 6, 1783, the following letter from the College of Physicians was read : ¹

‘ The College of Physicians desirous of concerting with the members of the University a plan conducive to the advancement of Science and the mutual Benefit of both Bodies have appointed their President Dr. Hill and Dr. Hutcheson for the purpose of conferring on that Subject with such members of the Board as they shall appoint, and request that the Board may appoint such Time and Place for the said Conference as to them shall seem expedient.’

In reply to this letter the Board appointed Dr. Wilson and Dr. Ussher to meet the College of Physicians. Thomas Wilson had been elected a Fellow in 1753, and co-opted a Senior Fellow fourteen years later. He was a Doctor of Divinity, and had been Professor of Natural Philosophy from 1769. Henry Ussher had been a Fellow since 1764, and had just been elected Professor of Astronomy on the foundation of Provost Andrews.

Various circumstances were at this time urging the Colleges to set their school in order. Dr. Barbor, the King’s Professor of Materia Medica and Pharmacy, had died on the 13th of March of this

¹ *Reg.*, vol. iv, p. 490.

year, and therefore, if change in the regulations of the School were admissible, the time was opportune. The rents of Sir Patrick Dun's estate had increased to over £900 a year, and it was felt that the trust was capable of supporting further Professorships, and thus of increasing the efficiency of the School. The Surgeons of Dublin, too, had on the 3rd May, 1781, petitioned for a Charter and for the constitution of a College. This petition was not granted until early in 1784, when the College of Surgeons was founded. Although there does not appear at first to have been any conflict of interests between the old and the new Colleges, yet it behoved the old to be in as efficient a state as possible to meet the new.

We have no record of any direct report from the Committee of Conference, but on November 4, 1783, the College of Physicians adopted the form of a petition to be presented to Parliament 'relative to a Change in the establishment of Sir Patrick Dun's Professorship'. This petition set forth the necessity of establishing a Complete School of Physic in this kingdom, and urged the importance of adding clinical lectures to those already given in the School. The petition was presented to the Irish House of Commons on November 20, 1783, and referred to 'a Committee appointed to inquire what may be the most effectual means for establishing a Complete School of Physic in this kingdom'.¹ This Committee, of which the Right Hon. John Hely Hutchinson, Provost of Trinity College

¹ *House of Commons Journals*, vol. xxi, p. 329.

and Secretary of State, was Chairman, met on Monday, December 1, and ordered the proper officers forthwith to lay before them the Will of the late Sir Patrick Dun, and also the original deed of 1704, in which he proposed 'to establish two professorships of Physic in Dublin. And also that the proper officer do forthwith lay before them the Will of the late Doctor Steevens'.¹

The Committee adjourned, and at a meeting the following week Sir Patrick's will and deed were read. Dr. Cleghorn was examined, and stated that he had not heard of the King's Professors 'being useful except that some Gen^s. exerted their Industry and Ability in order to answer at the examinations'. He was of opinion that the plan was not complete enough, as it did not found degrees. The only College of Physicians which he knew of that gave degrees without personal examination and the presence of the candidates was St. Andrews, and there it was only done to prevent students going abroad. In his opinion, the only way to keep students at home was to give them their degrees 'upon as easy terms, and in as short a time' as they could get them elsewhere. Access to a good library was very necessary to students of Physic, and this advantage the students of Trinity College had. He was of opinion that in Trinity College there were better facilities for the study and teaching of Medicine than anywhere else in Dublin, and it was to the honour of the University to have a good medical

¹ *Committee Books, House of Commons.*

school. It was impossible to have a really good school, unconnected with a university, in that it would be impossible for such a school to confer degrees. On the whole he was of opinion that if the existing Professors 'exert themselves and you set about it in earnest you will soon have a good school'. Provided proper persons were elected to the Chairs and those persons did their duty, and there was proper control to see that they did so, medical teaching in the University would prosper. At this meeting Dr. Ussher laid before the Committee a plan for a school of physic, which, however, is not given in the report. From this plan it appeared that the University was prepared to support as hitherto their own Professors at an annual cost of £280, and the suggestion was made that the election to the chairs should be for ten years; this Cleghorn approved, with the proviso that, at the end of their term of office, the Professors might be re-elected.

At the next meeting, on the 12th December, Dr. Cullen presented on behalf of the College of Physicians some observations on the plan suggested by Dr. Ussher. He stated that from his experience in Edinburgh the proportion of students who desired degrees to those who did not was about 24 to 300. He would like to see some such union between the University and the College as existed in Edinburgh between the University and the Faculty. In Edinburgh the Faculty of Medicine was part of the University, and the Faculty could only confer degrees through the University.

The College of Physicians of Edinburgh did not make part of the University, 'but as the faculty of medicine they did.' Further, in Edinburgh they did not insist on the Arts degree as essential to a medical degree, but the medical students had to be matriculated in the University. He described the mode of election of the Professors in Edinburgh, which he appeared to think better than the Dublin plan of examination. He then went on to speak of the clinical lectures which had formerly been given in the Royal Infirmary, but latterly were given by the Professors twice a week in their own apartments. The Professors, however, visited the wards every day. Clinical lectures in Surgery were not given in Edinburgh, though he thought they would be useful. In Edinburgh 'Clinical lectures are considered the most valuable part of the institution'. The Hospital for Incurables, or Mercer's Hospital, would, in his opinion, be suitable for clinical teaching. He insisted on the meaning of the word 'clinical', which indicated that the lectures were originally given at the bedside. Dr. Harvey was examined, and recommended Steevens' Hospital for clinical teaching, provided the distance were not too great. He, as a medical officer of that institution, would not have any objection to such a plan, and did not think it would be attended with any great expense. Dr. Hill, who was also examined, insisted on the necessity of a 'Botany Garden', which, to 'do honour to the institution', should be of at least five acres in extent.

On the 16th of December the Committee again met and the Rev. Dr. Kearney submitted the reply of the Board of Trinity College to the objections raised against their scheme by the College of Physicians. It was the opinion of the Board that the idea of the College of Physicians could not be carried out without infringing the rights of the University under her Charters. Dr. Hutcheson, described in the report as 'Doc Hutch', also gave evidence, and stated that in his opinion the expense of clinical lectures would not be great if they were given in an existing hospital. The utilization of the Hospital for Incurables, however, would involve considerable expense, 'there being nothing there except the bare walls.' Dr. Dabzac was examined, and produced the Registers of the University to show the history of medical teaching there. Such teaching appeared to him to date from about 1661.

This seems to have been all the evidence that the Committee heard, and on Wednesday, March 3, 1784, there is the note 'ordered to report'. In consequence of this report the Act of 1785,¹ drafted by Hely Hutchinson,² was passed by the Irish Parliament.

This Act set out that the President and Fellows of the College of Physicians, with the consent of Sir Nathaniel Barry and Henry Quin, Esq., the two living King's Professors, had petitioned the House of Commons in connexion with the Act of Parliament passed in 1741. The petitioners stated

¹ 25 George III, cap. xlii.

² Perceval's *Account*.

that difficulties had arisen in carrying out the provisions of that Act owing to the way it was framed. They were anxious, therefore, that the Act should be amended, and in order to establish a Complete School of Physic in Ireland it had seemed wise to appoint Professors to teach in the following subjects : Anatomy, Surgery, Institutes and Practice of Medicine, together with clinical lectures, Chemistry, Materia Medica, Botany, Natural History, and Pharmacy. Further, it seemed wise to alter the former mode of election of the Professors and also the times and manner of lecturing. In view of the necessity for these changes, and in order that the matter might be laid before Parliament, the examiners had not proceeded to an election to fill the place rendered vacant by the death on March 13, 1783, of Constantine Barbor, who had held the King's Professorship of Materia Medica and Pharmacy. The Act proceeded to state that furthermore Sir Nathaniel Barry, late King's Professor of Surgery and Midwifery, was now dead, and the estate of Sir Patrick Dun had amounted to an annual sum of £926. This income from the Dun Estate was sufficient to pay the salaries of a larger number of Professors than formerly. In view of all these circumstances Parliament decided to enact the following regulations in place of those contained in the Act of 1741 :

That Professors, to be called King's Professors of the City of Dublin on the foundation of Sir Patrick Dun, be appointed in the following sub-

jects : Institutes of Medicine, Practice of Medicine, Materia Medica and Pharmacy, and Natural History. Further, if at any time it seemed to the President and Fellows of the College that the estate could support another Professorship, they might then add to these Professorships one of Midwifery. The President and Fellows might at any time direct that more than one of these subjects be taught by the same Professor, but if this were done the Professor who was directed to do so must not receive any greater salary than the yearly sum of £100. The existing King's Professor, Henry Quin, was to continue for life to receive that share of the estate which would have come to him had the other two Professors continued to live and the Act not been passed. The new Professors during the life of Henry Quin were to have as remuneration ' a ratable distribution among them of that part and proportion of the Estate of the late Sir Patrick Dun to which the said Constantine Barbor, deceased, late Professor of Pharmacy and Materia Medica, and the said Sir Nathaniel Barry, late Professor of Surgery and Midwifery, under the said Act, were respectively during their lives entitled '. On the death of Quin, or so soon as the profits of the estate applicable to the Professorship were sufficient for the purpose, ' then every such Professor shall receive a proportionable increase of salary, not exceeding in the whole to any one person, whether he shall hold one or more professorship, or professorships, the yearly sum of one hundred pounds.'

As soon as there should be any surplus 'after paying the said yearly salaries', that surplus was to be applied to the support of clinical lectures and to the purchase of medical books by the President and Fellows, with the approbation of the Chancellor, or Vice-Chancellor, of Trinity College, the Archbishop, the Provost, and the Professor of Physic of Trinity College, or any three of them.

The University Lecturers in Anatomy and Surgery, Chemistry, and Botany were to be called Professors and to be paid by the University, the existing Lecturers being constituted Professors and continued in office under their existing tenure, that is to say, during good behaviour. The future University Professors were to be elected in the usual manner by the Provost and Senior Fellows. As regards the mode of election of the King's Professors, the President and Fellows of the College of Physicians were, on the day immediately preceding the holding of an election, to elect by ballot three of themselves, and these three persons so elected, together with the Provost and the Professor of Physic, were to elect the King's Professors after such previous examination as the electors, or the majority of them, should decide on. If there were an equality of voices among the electors, then the senior Doctor among the three Fellows elected by the College of Physicians was to have the casting voice. The three electors chosen by the College of Physicians were to remain in office till 'the day next preceding

the day of the next election', and if any vacancy occurred during this time it was to be filled by the President and Fellows by ballot. No elector was to be eligible for election as a King's Professor.

If a vacancy occurred either among the King's Professors, or the University Professors, unless it was thought proper to continue the same Professor, three months' notice of the vacancy was to be given in the *London* and *Dublin Gazettes*, such notice to be signed by the Registrars of the two Colleges. This notice was to set forth the vacancy, the emoluments of the chair, the time and place of the election, and to desire all candidates to send in their names, and to state where they were educated, in what university they had taken their medical degrees, and where they had practised. This information was to be laid before the President and Fellows of the College of Physicians by their Registrar, and before the Provost and Senior Fellows of Trinity College by the Registrar of that body, in order to enable inquiry to be made as to the merits of the candidates. The Professorships were to be open to Protestants of all nations, provided they had taken medical degrees, or received a licence to practise from the College of Physicians, in consequence of a testimonium under the seal of Trinity College. The Act proceeded to give the form of oath to be taken by the electors both of the King's Professors and of the University Professors, the Provost being directed to administer the oath to

the former electors and the President of the College of Physicians to the latter. The form of oath to be taken by the elected Professors was also set forth. All the Professorships were to become vacant at the end of every seventh year from the date of election, but a Professor might be re-elected.

The President and Fellows of the College of Physicians were to make regulations governing the King's Professors, and the Provost and Senior Fellows were to do so for the University Professors, and each body was to communicate these regulations to the other. If there was a disagreement about such regulations, either College could appeal to the visitors of the other College, who were to decide the matter.

If any of the Professors neglected their duties, they were to be admonished, or deprived of their office by the electors, in the case of the University Professors by the Provost and Senior Fellows, and in the case of the King's Professors by the electors nominated according to the Act. The Professors, however, had the right of appeal to the visitors of their respective Colleges. If either College were dissatisfied with the conduct of the Professors of the other College, and the matter could not be adjusted between them, the dispute was to be decided by the visitors of the College by which the Professors had been elected.

The lectures of each Professor were to begin on the first Monday in November and to continue till the end of April, each Professor to lecture four

days a week. In the case of Botany, the lectures were to begin on the second Monday in May and to continue till the end of July, on four days in each week, unless it were otherwise ordered by the Provost and Senior Fellows. Unless specially directed to the contrary by their respective Colleges, the Professors were to lecture in the English language, and rooms were to be provided by Trinity College for the lectures.

The fees charged for the lectures were to be regulated by the respective Colleges, and every student of Physic was to be matriculated in the University of Dublin by having his name entered in a book kept for that purpose, for which entry he had to pay five shillings, but no student was to be compelled to have a tutor, or answer examinations, or attend any of the academical duties of the University.

With regard to the Clinical Lectures, 'which are highly necessary for the success of a School of Physic,' they were to be given alternately by the several Professors as directed by their respective Colleges, and until a Clinical Hospital could be provided for the purpose the President and Fellows of the College of Physicians were authorized to appoint their lectures to be given 'in such Hospital, or Hospitals, in the City of Dublin as shall be found most convenient for that purpose'.

One-third of the profits of Dun's estate from the time of the death of Dr. Barbor to the time of the appointing of the new Professors was to be applied to the support of the clinical lectures.

On the 5th December, 1785, the President and Fellows of the College of Physicians chose by ballot from among themselves Arthur Saunders, Francis Hopkins, and Patrick Plunket as electors for the King's Professorships under the new Act. The elections were appointed to be held the next day and the following candidates applied for the different Chairs :

Institutes of Medicine :	Stephen Dickson. John William Boyton.
Practice of Medicine :	Richard Harris. Edward Brereton. John Charles Fleury.
Materia Medica :	Edmund Cullen.

When the electors met they decided that proper notice, such as was required by the Act, had not been given, and consequently they adjourned till the 21st of March, and ordered an advertisement to be issued. The College on the 20th of March appointed Charles Quin an elector instead of Hopkins, and the next day the examination of the candidates took place at the Provost's House. The candidates who presented themselves, with the exception of Fleury, whose place was taken by Francis Hopkins, were the same as before, and they were submitted to certain examinations by the Provost, the Professor of Physic, and the three College electors. As the result of this examination the electors recommended Dr. Dickson as Professor of the Institutes of Medicine, Dr. Brereton as Professor of the Practice of Medicine, and Dr. Cullen as Professor of Materia Medica and Pharmacy.

The electors met at the palace of the Archbishop of Dublin on April 5, and the candidates recommended by the electors were declared elected.

The staff of the School, as reconstituted under the Act of 1785, was as follows :

UNIVERSITY PROFESSORS

Medicus	Vacant.
Professor of Physic	Edward Hill.
Professor of Anatomy	George Cleghorn.
Assistant	James Cleghorn.
Professor of Botany	Edward Hill.
Professor of Chemistry	Robert Perceval.

KING'S PROFESSORS

Institutes of Medicine	Stephen Dickson.
Practice of Medicine	Edward Brereton.
Materia Medica and Pharmacy	Edmund Cullen.

Of the King's Professors Stephen Dickson had graduated M.D. in Edinburgh in September 1783, reading a thesis *De Somno*. He was admitted a Licentiate and elected a Fellow of the College of Physicians on June 14, 1784. Before going to Edinburgh he had graduated B.A. in Trinity College in the Summer of 1781, but did not take his M.B. or M.D. there till 1793. He proceeded to the degree of M.A. in 1800. On the death of Brereton in 1792, Dickson succeeded to the Professorship of the Practice of Medicine, having previously resigned his other Chair ; on May 27, 1799, he was deprived of his Fellowship of the College of Physicians for having 'been absent from the meetings of the College for two years without leave'.

Edward Brereton had graduated B.A. in Trinity

College in 1774, and then, like Dickson, gone to study in Edinburgh. There he graduated M.D. in September 1778, reading a thesis *De Scorbuto*. He was admitted a Licentiate of the College of Physicians on the 10th November, 1783, and elected a Fellow a fortnight later. Brereton died five years after his appointment as King's Professor on the 10th December, 1791.¹ Both Brereton and Dickson were Physicians to the Dublin General Dispensary, which was started about 1785 in the old Post Office yard, Temple Bar.

Edmund Cullen, the Professor of Materia Medica and Pharmacy, was elected a Scholar of Trinity College in 1770, and graduated B.A. two years later. He studied for some time in Edinburgh, and graduated M.D. there in June 1781, reading a thesis *De aere et imperio eius in corpore humano*. In the summer of 1793 he graduated M.B. and M.D. in Dublin, having been admitted a Licentiate and elected a Fellow of the College of Physicians on the 28th July, 1782; he was chosen President in the years 1787, 1794, and 1799. In February 1786 he was elected Physician to the Meath Hospital, but he resigned some two years later.² At one time he lived in Exchequer Street, and afterwards in South King Street, and he died in 1804. In 1786 he published in Dublin a translation of the Physical and Chemical Essays of Baron Bergman.³

The University Professors, Edward Hill and Robert Perceval, were both destined to play a

¹ Cameron, *Hist.*, p. 325.

² Ormsby, p. 101.

³ Cameron, *Hist.*, p. 45.

very important part in the subsequent history of the School.

Edward Hill,¹ the son of Thomas Hill of Ballyporeen in the County Tipperary, was born on the 14th May, 1741. His father died while Edward was still a boy, and the family then moved to the neighbourhood of Cashel, where for a time he attended school. He then went as a boarder to the Diocesan School of Clonmel, where the Rev. Mr. Harwood was Master. In 1760 he entered Trinity College and began a brilliant undergraduate career, being elected a Scholar in 1763, and graduating B.A. in the spring of 1765. It is stated that Hill might easily have obtained a Fellowship had he wished to do so. He was noted for his beautiful writing, and he was asked by the Board to write out the testimonium of the Duke of Bedford. For this on January 7, 1766, the Board voted him five guineas. In the summer of 1771 Hill took his M.B. degree, the Board excusing him 'his commencement fees'. In 1773 he graduated M.D. and was admitted a Licentiate and elected a Fellow of the College of Physicians on November 6, 1775. In 1773 we have seen that he was appointed Lecturer in Botany, and the following year he was given the use of the printing house for five years, presumably in connexion with his botanical lectures. Ten years later, in 1784, he 'resigned the use of the Printing House & delivered up the Key',² the head porter being ordered to take possession of it. In 1781 he succeeded William

¹ Wills, *Irishmen*, vol. vi, p. 469.

² *Reg.*, vol. v, p. 19.

Clements as Professor of Physic, which office he held till his death, a period of forty-nine years. In 1761, before he had taken his degree in Medicine, Hill began the task of editing Milton's *Paradise Lost*. This task he never completed, but the manuscript, which contained a complete verbal index and a critical examination of the French translations, is still preserved in the College Library.¹ In 1814 Hill designed and made a model of an Ionic temple, which he submitted to the Committee for erecting a testimonial to the Duke of Wellington. It was proposed that this temple should be erected in Stephen's Green, but the Committee did not accept the design. Hill was elected President of the College of Physicians in 1782, 1789, 1795, 1801, 1808, and 1813. In 1800 he resigned his Professorship of Botany, as by the School of Physic Act, passed that year, he was incapacitated from holding two Professorships, but he continued, as we have said, Professor of Physic till his death on the 31st October, 1830.

Robert Perceval was the youngest son of William Perceval, who was a descendant of Sir Philip Perceval, and consequently a connexion of the Earls of Egmont.² He was born in Dublin on the 30th September, 1756, and entered Trinity College in 1772, graduating B.A. in the spring of 1777. After this he went, like so many other Irish students of the time, to Edinburgh to study medicine, and graduated M.D. there on the 24th June, 1780. For the M.D. he read a thesis *De corde*, which

¹ Abbot, *MSS. Cat.*, p. 104.

² Vide *D. N. B.*, vol. xv, p. 820.

was subsequently published. Having taken his degree he travelled on the Continent, returning to Dublin in 1782, where he was, as we have seen, on November 30, granted leave to lecture in, and make use of the Chemical Laboratory in Trinity College. In May following, on the death of Thornton, he was elected Lecturer in Chemistry, and on the 24th of November was admitted a Licentiate and elected a Fellow of the College of Physicians. In 1785 he became Professor of Chemistry, the University Lecturers in that year being given the title of Professors by Act of Parliament. He resigned this professorship in February 1808. In 1785 he was associated with Cleghorn and others in the foundation of the Royal Irish Academy, and is mentioned in the Charter. For many years he acted as Secretary to the Academy, and contributed to its Proceedings some papers on subjects connected with Chemistry. He was also, at this time, one of the founders of the Dublin General Dispensary in Temple Bar, where he acted as one of the Physicians. In the summer of 1793 he commenced M.B. and M.D. in Trinity College, and on December 8, 1796, was elected a Governor of Steevens's Hospital. He attended regularly the meetings of the Board of this Hospital till his resignation in June 1832. It was mainly due to his influence that the Act of 1785 was repealed by the passing of the School of Physic Act of 1800, and his action in that matter gained for him the censure of the College of Physicians. He was elected President of the College on the

4th November, 1799, but had to resign both this and his Fellowship in consequence of a clause in the School of Physic Act, of 1800, forbidding Professors to hold the Fellowship. He was elected an Honorary Fellow on St. Luke's Day, 1800.

Perceval took an active part in the work of the Prison Discipline Society, and he has been referred to as the 'Irish Howard'. In 1819 he was elected Physician-General to the Forces in Ireland, but he resigned the following year. In his later years he devoted himself to the study of Theology, and in 1821 he published 'An Essay to establish the Divinity of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, on Scripture Grounds exclusively: With a Review of the Doctrine of the Trinity as it was held in the Earlier Ages of the Church'.¹ In this work he seems to follow the doctrines of Adam Clarke, and he maintains that he has proved by Scripture texts that Christ, though divine, is distinct from God who had delegated to him his divine attributes. In 1786 Perceval married Anne, daughter of W. Brereton of Rathgilbert, and he died of a lingering illness on the 3rd March, 1839. Though a Physician in considerable practice for many years, Perceval did not, so far as we are aware, publish any medical work, and his papers on Chemistry in the Transactions of the Royal Irish Academy do not add much lustre to his name. He will be remembered chiefly as being the principal mover in the passing of the School of Physic Act of 1800.

¹ Dublin, 1821, 8vo., pp. 302.

CHAPTER IX

CLOSING YEARS OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

THE passing of the School of Physic Act, of 1785, should have placed the School on a satisfactory basis. A number of well-paid professional Chairs were established, and facilities had been granted for the development of medical teaching in a way never before possible in Dublin. The event, however, was the opposite of what had been expected, and during the last decade of the eighteenth century the School reached almost the lowest level in its history. The establishment of clinical lectures proved an obstacle which the united wisdom of the Colleges was unable to overcome, and the effort to solve this difficulty resulted in open rupture among the Professors.

The College of Physicians loyally endeavoured to carry out the provisions of the Act of Parliament, and, as we have seen, on the 5th of April, 1786, the three King's Professors were appointed. The provision of a place and material for the clinical teaching was not, however, such an easy matter. The funds at the disposal of the College must have been considerable, for, although the accounts of the estate were not, before 1786, kept separately from the College accounts, and con-

sequently it is not possible to say what was the exact sum in the hands of the College, yet we can make a rough estimate of it. One-third of the profits of the estate from the time of Barbor's death till the passing of the Act should have amounted to about £600, and after deducting from the income the salaries of the new King's Professors, the salary of Dr. Quin, and the necessary charges on the estate, there should have been, as well as this capital sum, at least £200 a year available for the maintenance of clinical teaching. This sum, though considerable, was utterly inadequate to warrant the College embarking in any extensive project of hospital building.

Under these circumstances the College approached the Governors of Mercer's Hospital with a request that some of the beds in that institution should be set apart for the purpose of clinical teaching, and the proposals were received by the hospital authorities in a most friendly manner. Dr. Hill and Dr. Hopkins were then the Physicians of Mercer's Hospital. Hopkins had been an unsuccessful candidate for the King's Professorship of the Practice of Medicine, and Hill tells us that ¹ 'in a fit of the spleen he frustrated the negotiations'. In this difficulty the College, in November 1787, rented a small house in Clarendon Street and fitted it up with seventeen beds which were to be kept open for patients during the six months of the medical session. In this house the King's Professors attended, and 'publicly delivered re-

¹ Hill, *Address* (1), p. 27.

ports of the patients cases to the students, and afterwards adjourned to the medical lecture room in Trinity College in order that they might more particularly treat of the several disorders of the patients'. The King's Professors in doing so followed the example of the principal medical schools elsewhere established.

In November 1789 the King's Professors submitted a memorial to the College of Physicians in which they stated that they had each delivered a course of clinical lectures, but that the University Professors had as yet given none, and asked that they might not be directed to lecture again till the University Professors should have done so. To this the College agreed and directed a copy of the memorial to be sent to the Board. This memorial was submitted to the Board at their meeting on November 14, 1789,¹ and they at once directed that a copy of it should be sent to each of the University Professors, with a request that they would attend the Board on the following Saturday to consider the matter. The Registrar was also directed to request the attendance of the King's Professors. On the 21st November, Dr. Hill and Dr. Perceval attended; 'the attendance of ye Professor of Anatomy Dr. Cleghorn was not expected, he being in the country and in a very ill state of health.' The King's Professors declined to attend the meeting. Dr. Hill stated that the house in Clarendon Street had been taken 'without his concurrence' and 'he declined enter-

¹ *Reg.*, vol. v, p. 79.

ing into any engagement to give clinical lectures on account of his state of health not permitting his attendance in an Hospital'. Dr. Perceval said that he considered the Hospital as quite unsuitable for lectures, but he would engage to deliver lectures 'health permitting, however inconvenient or unfit for that purpose the afore mentioned small house in Clarendon Street were, provided the Board would agree to a certain Regulation of Fees proposed by him, and that they would give their countenance and protection to the founding of an hospital or perpetual establishment fit and convenient for the purpose of clinical lectures'.

Perceval further stated that if the Board did not agree to these conditions, but made an order directing him to lecture, then he would reserve his right to give what answer seemed good to him. As a result of this meeting the Board submitted a case to Counsel for an opinion as to whether they had power to direct the University Professors to give Clinical Lectures under the existing conditions. On December 19, Counsel's opinion was read to the Board and the Registrar was directed to inform the College of Physicians that the Provost and Senior Fellows were most desirous to direct the University Professors to give clinical lectures, but that they were advised by Counsel that they could not do so till the College of Physicians had appointed a hospital in the city of Dublin where such lectures were to be given. The Registrar was to state further that

lectures given in a room in the College could not be considered as clinical.¹ To this letter the College of Physicians replied that they had appointed the Hospital in Clarendon Street as a convenient place for clinical lectures, and that the King's Professors had lectured there regularly, but if the Board required 'that the clinical lectures as well as the reports of the patients cases should be given in an Hospital the College of Physicians will appoint and they do hereby appoint the sd. Lectures in future to be given in the Hospital in Clarendon Street'.²

At the next meeting of the College of Physicians on January 14, 1790, Dr. Perceval signified his wish to give clinical lectures during that session if the College would support a Hospital for the purpose. The Treasurer was then asked to state what funds there were available for the purpose, and he stated that there were no funds in hand at the time and no rents expected till June. There was a small balance in the hands of the London agents arising from the £1,200 invested in English Funds, but necessary charges would absorb that balance with the exception of £2 8s. 9½d. The College, however, decided that if ten students would enter for the clinical lectures during the remainder of the present winter, they would lend out of the College private funds, to be repaid out of the rents in June, enough money to support the hospital for the winter.

This resolution the Board also submitted to

¹ *Reg.*, vol. v, p. 82 b.

² *Col. P. Minutes.*

Counsel, and by his advice directed the following letter to be sent to the College of Physicians :

‘ Sir,—I am directed to acquaint you that the resolutions of the College of Physicians of ye 28 Dec. last having been by direction of the Board laid before the College Counsel the Provost and Senr. Fellows are advised that they have no authority to direct the University Professors to give Clinical Lectures in the house call’d in the said Resolutions the Clinical Hospital in Clarendon Street, the same not being an hospital within the Letter or Spirit of the Act of the 25th of the King for establishing a complete school of physick in this Kingdom. However the Board desirous to manifest an earnest wish to promote the success of the School of Physick shall recommend to the University Professors to give Clinical Lectures in said Hospital if they the said Professors shall find it practicable so to do.

‘ Jan. 9th, 1790.

H. Dabzac, Reg. T. C. D.’

The promise contained in the latter part of the letter was carried out, and the Registrar wrote in the name of the Board to the Professors, earnestly recommending them to give lectures in the house in Clarendon Street if they possibly could. Dr. Perceval agreed to begin a course of lectures on February 1, and asked the Board for directions as to the fees to be charged to students. The Board replied that the fees were to be three guineas for each student, the Professor ‘ making such rateable abatement for the part of the session which has elapsed as he in his discretion shall think fit ’.¹

The Hospital in Clarendon Street proved to be

¹ *Reg.*, vol. v, p. 86 b.

a most expensive undertaking. During the first year, according to Hill,¹ the cost per head was at the rate of £18 each for the winter session, and during the second year £20, and this greatly exceeded the expense incurred by other hospitals in the city. The hospital, too, was admitted on all sides to be unsatisfactory. This condition of affairs being reported to the College of Physicians on August 14, 1790, the lease of the house in Clarendon Street was forthwith surrendered. On July 9, 1791, the Board agreed to subscribe £150 towards building a hospital in which clinical lectures might be given, and until that could be done they offered to the College of Physicians, at the yearly rent of £20, the house occupied by Mrs. Coombs, widow of the late head porter. We have no record of this offer being accepted, nor have we been able to identify the house which was occupied by Mrs. Coombs.

Perceval urged the College of Physicians either to build or to buy a hospital for medical patients, which could be kept open during the entire year, and in which certain of the patients could be set apart during the winter session for purposes of clinical instruction. He stated that if this were done subscriptions would almost certainly be received from the public, the beds could be maintained at a cost of £19 a year and, with the public subscriptions, the cost to Dun's estate would not amount to more than £15 a year for each bed. The College agreed to this plan, and the Provost,

¹ Hill, *Address* (1), p. 28.

Hely Hutchinson, brought into Parliament a bill which was passed into law in 1791, the thirty-first year of the King, to enable this to be done.

This Act set forth that on account of the difficulties which had arisen in the provision of a suitable place for the delivery of clinical lectures in any of the city hospitals, the annual surplus of Sir Patrick Dun's estate applicable to this purpose, which amounted to about £800 a year, remained unapplied. Parliament consequently decided that the President of the College of Physicians might, till a suitable clinical hospital was provided, take a house in the city of Dublin and furnish it with all necessaries for the care of patients, and that the house so provided was to be used for clinical lectures, and in it the Professors were to lecture alternately without any further allowance than their salary as Professor of £100 a year. The necessary expenses for this house were to be paid by the President, with the consent of the Trustees, out of the surplus of Dun's estate. The President, with such consent, was also to expend a part, not exceeding £1,000, of the annual surplus towards building or purchasing a suitable hospital for the purpose of clinical lectures. The house taken by the President was only to be used and paid for till it was possible to provide a hospital for the purpose, and all subscriptions to such a hospital were to be devoted towards its erection and annual expenses.

In pursuance of this Act, Perceval secured a lease of a house on the Blind Quay, now Lower

Exchange Street, for which a rent of £40 a year was to be paid, provided £150 were spent on repairs, and on July 9, 1792, the College of Physicians ordered its seal to be affixed to the lease. This house was fitted up with thirty-one beds at a cost of £250, and the hospital was opened in November of that year.¹ This venture, however, did not prove more successful than the former. During the first year 253 persons were admitted, the average number of beds occupied being thirty during the winter half year, and ten during the summer, the total cost being £609 17s. 7d.² During the winter session of this year Dr. Perceval gave clinical instruction in the hospital. During the second year, 1793-4, things were worse; there were fewer patients, an average of twenty in the winter and ten in the summer six months, yet the expenditure rose to £722 for the year. During this year there were no clinical lectures delivered in the hospital at all, the defaulting Professor being apparently James Cleghorn,³ the new Professor of Anatomy. During the year 1794-5 the average number of patients maintained during the winter session was reduced by the King's Professors to fourteen, and the expenditure reached £29 a bed for the half year.

The King's Professors, in November 1794, put forward a claim that they were entitled between them to two-thirds of the profits of the Trust Estate. It had always been considered that their

¹ *Irish Builder*, June 15, 1897.

² Dickson's *Letter*, p. 72.

³ Hill's *Address* (1), p. 32.

salary was to be £100 a year each and no more, yet they now claimed, under section 5 of the Act, a rateable distribution of the money which was payable to Dr. Barbor and Sir Nathaniel Barry from the time of the new appointments till Dr. Quin's death. In this claim, which amounted to £2,426 6s. 8d., they were supported by eminent legal opinion, but the funds in the hands of the College only amounted to £2,478 15s. 7d. Considering this state of the funds and the liability of the College for the maintenance of the clinical lectures and the library, the Professors agreed to be contented with a sum of £1,664 18s. 6d., provided the residue was applied to discharge the other liabilities of the estate. The College agreed to this proposal, but at the same time decided to fee Counsel for an opinion as to 'how far an amicable suit instituted by the Professors against the College may prevent the opposition of ill-advised or ill-disposed persons against the disposition of Sir Patrick Dun's funds'. These resolutions were ratified at the next meeting of the College, but at the following meeting on January 10, 1795, it was decided that these resolutions should not take effect till the question had been 'determined by a Court of Equity or by a reference, the award to be made a rule of Court'.¹ At the same time the College decided that all expenses incurred by such proceedings should be defrayed out of the funds of the trust estate, and that if a bill was not filed by the Professors within a space of two

¹ Col. P. Minutes.

months all the resolutions agreed to in respect of the claim of the Professors on the estate were to be rescinded. The case came to trial in the Court of Chancery on May 8 and 11, 1795, when the 'Lord Chancellor was pleased to dismiss the bill'. An appeal was then taken to the House of Lords and tried there on February 8, 1796. Mr. Bursten and Mr. Saurin appeared for the King's Professors and stated the case very fully. The respondents, the President and Fellows of the College of Physicians, were represented by Mr. Frankland and Mr. W. C. Plunket, but they were not called to speak, and the Lord Chancellor, addressing the Law Lords, commented in very severe terms on the action of the Professors. He said, 'In my judgement this conduct on the part of the appellants must be considered in a Court of Equity, as a gross and shameless fraud: and whether the letter of the Act will bear them out in the attempt, or whether it will not, at any other tribunal, it seems to me to be most perfectly clear that they should be scouted from a Court of Equity with shame and disgrace.' The Lords came to the following judgement in the case, 'that the appeal be dismissed and the decree therein complained of affirmed and that the Appellants do pay to the Respondents £100 for their costs in respect of the appeal.' ¹

In 1795 Dr. Perceval and Dr. James Cleghorn laid a complaint before the Board of the conduct of two of the King's Professors in regard to their

¹ Ridgeway, vol. iii, p. 433.

management of the hospital during the previous winter. The Board expressed dissatisfaction at the conduct of the Professors, and submitted the controversy to the College of Physicians for judgement. The whole matter was considered very fully by the College of Physicians at their meeting on August 20. The documents were produced, both Perceval and Cleghorn were heard in support of the complaint, and Dr. Cullen and Dr. Dickson defended themselves from the charges. The first complaint was that the Professors at no time during the past winter supported thirty patients in the hospital. To this the College replied that great latitude ought to be allowed to the attending Physician as to the number of patients he deemed requisite for his lectures. The second charge was that after the first of May there were no patients admitted to the hospital, with the result that the place fell into disrepair and the students who had entered for a year's hospital practice were deprived of the benefits of such attendance. To this the College replied that they could not, out of Dun's estate, support any patients who were not to be used for clinical instruction, and there were no funds arising from public subscriptions for their support. With regard to the students, the College received sufficient evidence that they did not expect to attend the hospital except during the medical session. The third count in the charge was that the King's Professors had not charged the students the three guineas which was to be given to the hospital

funds, but had admitted students who merely paid the three guineas for clinical instruction. This omission to demand any fee for the general fund was greatly to the detriment of the hospital. The College stated that in acting thus the Professors were only carrying out instructions. The plan of enforcing the payment of six guineas by each student attending the hospital had been tried by the College for one year and appeared to excite much discontent among the students and occasioned a 'considerable diminution in their number'. On the whole, the College acquitted the Professors of any neglect and considered that they had discharged the duty they owed to their patients, their pupils, and themselves with credit and advantage to the general interests of the School. This reply did not satisfy the Board, who, on the 5th of November, referred the matter to the Visitors of the College of Physicians. The Visitors, however, did not consider the matter within their jurisdiction, and it was dropped. These various disputes seem to have wearied the Colleges of the subject of clinical lectures, and we read little more about them in the Registers for some time.

Two alternative plans were suggested by Perceval for the establishment of a hospital. The first was that a plot of ground in the rear of Townsend Street should be taken for the purpose, but this had to be abandoned on account of the prohibitive ground-rent. The second was that the Board should grant a site in the neighbourhood of the east end of College Street, but this the Board re-

fused to do on account of the danger to the students of the College from the proximity of an infectious hospital. The hospital in Exchange Street was rapidly falling into decay, and, in April 1799, was finally abandoned, the College of Physicians having in the previous November entered into negotiations with the Governors of Mercer's Hospital for clinical lectures to be delivered there. As a result of these negotiations an agreement was entered into for two years whereby, on January 1, 1799, certain empty wards in Mercer's Hospital were to be set apart for the reception of patients for clinical instruction. The Governors of the Hospital undertook to support, for six months, thirty patients and nurses according to a specified dietary for a sum of £254 10s., the College supplying, in addition to this sum, their own wine, groceries, and medicines. It was further agreed that if the College wished to build additional accommodation, the Governors of the Hospital would place at their disposal a site adjoining the hospital. On the 21st of January, 1799, the beds were reported as ready for the patients. The agreement thus entered into appeared to be a satisfactory solution of a difficulty which had been for almost fifteen years a source of continual vexation to the two Colleges. The relief, however, was of short duration, for Perceval, finding himself foiled in his efforts to induce the College to build a large clinical hospital, sought the aid of the legislature, and in the following year was passed the celebrated School of Physic Act, of 1800, which finally took from the

College all discretionary power in the management of Dun's estate.

This controversy about the clinical lectures was carried on with much bitterness between the two University Professors. Perceval seems to have determined to use every means in his power to establish a great hospital attached to the School. His ideal was the Royal Infirmary of Edinburgh, and to attain his object he was ready to sacrifice every interest which stood in his way. Hill, on the other hand, was anxious to found a botanical garden, and believed that the funds of Dun's estate could more properly be applied to such an object than to the foundation of a hospital. Their objects were thus diametrically opposed, for if either succeeded the other must fail, and the dispute was carried on between them with a personal bitterness which ill became men supposed to be working for the good of a common cause—the School of Physic. Perceval ultimately triumphed, owing to his influence with the Board and with Parliament, but the means which he used to attain this triumph do not redound to his credit.

While the disputes were in progress many important changes were made by the Board in the regulations of the Medical School. On April 16, 1790, at 'ten o'clock at night', James Cleghorn was elected Professor of Anatomy in the room of his uncle, deceased. Cleghorn,¹ the only candidate for the Chair, stated that he had been educated in Trinity College, and had studied the 'different

¹ *Reg.*, vol. v, p. 162.

branches of Medicine under the several Professors in the School of Physic in Ireland'. And also 'that he had attended Clinical Lectures given in the City of Dublin'. He had also studied in London 'under an eminent surgeon, Mr. Hunter', and visited the hospitals of Paris and Montpelier. Cleghorn had graduated B.A. in 1784, M.B. in the summer of 1787, and M.D. in 1793. He was admitted a Licentiate of the College of Physicians in January 1792, and elected Fellow in 1793. He was afterwards President of the College in the years 1805, 1806, 1811, and 1816. In 1797 he was elected State Physician, and he held the office till his death in 1826. Cleghorn does not seem to have inherited his uncle's love for Anatomy. He was re-elected Professor on May 6, 1797, but two years later Mr. Hartigan was appointed to assist him on account of his bad health, and on July 24, 1802, his resignation of the Chair was accepted by the Board.

On the 5th May, 1792, the Board received through Dr. Perceval a letter written by Dr. Andrew Duncan, in which he pointed out that the graduation fees for a Doctor in Physic of Edinburgh University amounted to £13 8s. 'British', along with the expense of printing and publishing an 'Inaugural Dissertation'. The fees in Trinity College amounted to £29 4s., for a similar degree, and Perceval suggested that if they were reduced it 'would tend to the encouragement of the School of Physic in the City of Dublin'.¹ In consequence

¹ *Reg.*, vol. v, p. 218.

of this letter the Board 'resolved that the present fees, amounting to £29 4s., be reduced to the sum of £14 12s., and also that the sum of £6 16s. 6d., be paid to the six Professors for their trouble in examining ; and further, that each person so commencing shall give in a printed copy of his Inaugural Dissertation to the Vice-Chancellor, the Provost, and each of the Senior Fellows of the University,—to the President and Censors of the College of Physicians and each of the six Professors of Physic '.

On the 29th June, 1792, the Board drew up new regulations relative to the conferring of medical degrees. These regulations were as follows :

' Every Student in Medicine who has been matriculated into the University either in the usual mode or according to the form prescribed in the Act of 25 Geo. 3rd, producing to the Register of the College Testimonials of his having studied Medicine three years in some University where Medicine is publicly taught, and of his having attended the Clinical Hospital and one complete course of Clinical Lectures in Dublin, and also one complete course of each of the six Medical Professors of this University in their respective Department, shall receive from the Provost & Senior Fellows a *Liceat ad examinandum* directed to the Faculty of Medicine consisting of the said six Medical Professors.

' The Faculty of Medicine will examine every student producing such *Liceat ad examinandum*, and if they find him qualified to obtain Medical Degrees, will certify the same to the Provost and Senior Fellows. Every student producing to the Register of the College such certificate, shall upon paying fees, amounting to £21 : 8 : 6, be admitted to perform the necessary Acts prescribed by the Statutes of the University to qualify him for obtaining the degrees

of Bachelor and Doctor of Medicine and will receive a diploma . . . certified by the seal of the College.'¹

On June 15, 1793, the Board agreed to 'the following Scheme of the performances of Medical Degrees'

'Each Candidate for degrees in Medicine shall apply to the Register of the Faculty for a Certificate of his attendance on the several Professors, which is to entitle him to a *Liceat ad examinandum* from the Board. This he is to present to the Register of the Faculty, who shall within a fortnight of the time of receiving the *Liceat* appoint a time for the examination of the Candidate, a week's notice of the same being given to each member of the Faculty. Having passed the examination before the Faculty for the degree of M.B. or M.D., the Candidate shall present to some one of the Professors of the Faculty of Medicine an MS copy of a Thesis composed by him in Latin upon a subject relating to any department of Medicine he may choose, provided it shall have been approved by one of the Professors of Medicine in the University: When the Professor to whom the Thesis is presented, shall have specified his approbation thereof to the Faculty of Medicine, the Candidate shall receive from that body the following certificate signed by the Register of the Faculty—*Examinatione habita apud Professores facultatis medicinae in Academia Dublinensi, A.B. Idoneum se praebeuit qui admittatur ad praestanda exercitia pro gradibus Baccalauriatus et Doctoratus in Medicina*. This certificate shall be presented to the Register of the University to be by him laid before the Board, and on leave being granted to perform, shall be returned to the Candidate, countersigned by the same Register. The Professor of Medicine in the University, on the certificate so signed and countersigned being

¹ *Reg.*, vol. v, p. 221.

presented to him shall appoint such days, as he shall chose for the performance of exercises for the degrees of M.B. and M.D., so as that the whole be completed within a month from the time of the Candidate's application. The Professor himself or one of the Professors of the Faculty, to be approved of by the Board as his *locum tenens*, shall preside at such Performances. Each Candidate for the degree of M.B. is to dispute in the Hall of the University, upon the questions to be proposed by the Professor of Medicine or his *locum tenens*, according to the usages of the University, he is also to read two Praelections—one upon an acute case, and the other upon a chronic case, to be also proposed by the Professor or his *locum tenens*. For the degree of M.D. he is to dispute upon two questions in like manner as before ; and also read four Praelections one or more of which shall form his Thesis (or Inaugural Dissertation) or such part thereof as may be agreed on by the Professor, who having on that occasion signified his approbation of the said Thesis shall authorize it to be printed and direct copies to be presented to the Vice-Chancellor of the University—the Provost and each of the Senior-Fellows—to the President and Censors of the College of Physicians and each of the six Professors of Physic.’¹

At the beginning of the winter session of 1795 the Board ordered the University Professors to ‘lecture twice in the week during their attendance as Clinical Lecturers in Sir Patrick Dun’s Hospital’.² On September 28, 1799, it was ordered, ‘that Lectures in Anatomy should be given by the Professor on Tuesdays and Thursdays, at half past one during the ensuing Term in the Physiology School ; and that he be allowed to charge the students a guinea and a half for

¹ *Reg.*, vol. v, p. 236.

² *Ibid.*, p. 279.

tickets of admission to the course which is to be comprised in not less than ten Lectures.'

The resolution of June 29, 1792, appears to be a direct departure from the usage of the University which always required candidates for degrees in any of the Faculties to have first graduated in Arts. There was, however, no real departure from ancient custom, for the Board subsequently decreed¹ that this rule only related to the Medical Diplomas and not to Degrees, or as they say, 'the Diploma given to Medical Students not of the University who have qualified for M.D.'²

No lists of the Medical Students of the University prior to 1786 have been preserved, but since that time, in accordance with the first School of Physic Act, every student of Medicine who attended lectures in the School had to be matriculated by having his name entered in a book kept for that purpose by the Senior Lecturer. These matriculation lists are still preserved in the College Library,³ and from them we learn that the following numbers matriculated during the years 1786-1800 :

1786, 6 entered.	1791, 1 entered.	1796, 4 entered.
1787, 17 ,,	1792, 2 ,,	1797, 1 ,,
1788, 5 ,,	1793, 0 ,,	1798, 6 ,,
1789, 3 ,,	1794, 5 ,,	1799, 2 ,,
1790, 0 ,,	1795, 4 ,,	1800, 14 ,,

During this period twenty-two persons were granted degrees in Medicine, and two were granted

¹ *Reg.*, vol. v, p. 400.

² *Ibid.*, p. 488.

³ Abbot, *Cat. of MSS.*, T. C. D., No. 759.

diplomas, a small proportion of those who matriculated in the School. Many of these students went to Edinburgh, which at that time was attracting medical students from all parts of the world. During the four years 1786-9, inclusive, there were at least forty-four Irishmen who graduated in Medicine in the Edinburgh University.

CHAPTER X

THE SCHOOL OF PHYSIC ACT, 1800

WHEN the clinical lectures had been finally established in Mercer's Hospital, Perceval felt that it was hopeless for him to make any further attempt to induce the College of Physicians to expend the funds of Dun's estate in building a hospital. The arrangement with Mercer's had met with general approval, and promised to be a success, if those whose duty it was to lecture honestly and loyally fulfilled their obligations. Perceval was not, however, willing to accept defeat, nor would he submit to the decision of the majority of his colleagues, and feeling it impossible to convert them to his views by argument, he determined to compel them by the aid of the legislature. He seems to have had some influence with Lord Clare, the Lord Chancellor, and he persuaded him to have a Committee of the House of Lords appointed to report 'how far it is consistent with the public good and with the faithful discharge of the intentions of the testator that the said funds should remain longer in the College of Physicians'. The Earl of Altamont was appointed chairman of this Committee, and any of the Lords who wished were to attend as members. The Committee met on Tuesday, April 16, 1799, the Earl of Mayo

and Lord Tullamore attending with the chairman. The first witness examined was Perceval, and his evidence displays the animus he felt against the College of which he was a Fellow. He made little of the efforts of the College to establish a hospital for clinical teaching, an establishment which had been undertaken at his instigation, and of which he was a governor. He accused the College of expending the trust funds to pay the law expenses of both sides in a case in which the College was defendant, though he admitted, on being pressed, that the whole sum so expended between November 21, 1794, and November 20, 1798, amounted only to £333 14s. 11d., of which sum £221 2s. 8d. was paid out of the private fund of the College. When asked, 'Do you conceive that the trusts of the Will of Sir Patrick Dun, as explained and amended by subsequent Acts, have been carried on in the best and fairest manner, for the purposes of the institution, or in a just and faithful discharge of the trust?' he replied, 'They certainly, in my opinion, have not been carried on in such a manner, and I am further of opinion that no provision exists for preventing many of the abuses which have existed from occurring again.' He stated further that he did not consider it to be in the interest of the public that the management of the funds of Sir Patrick Dun's estates should remain in the hands of the College of Physicians. In his opinion, the surplus funds from the estate, together with the fees to be paid by students attending the lectures at the hospital, would be

sufficient 'for a great and highly useful national establishment'. To show the foresight exhibited in this remark one should remember that the most liberal estimates of the surplus funds did not place that sum higher than £1,000 or £1,100 a year, and, at three guineas apiece, fifty students would only contribute £157 10s. a year. Thus with an endowment of under £1,300 a year he proposed to build and support a hospital which would be 'a great and highly useful national establishment'. At the next meeting of the Committee the Bishop of Ossory took the place of the Earl of Mayo, and Doctors Plunket, Hopkins, Cullen, and Harvey, Fellows of the College of Physicians, were examined. They all displayed considerable ignorance with regard to the history of the application of the trust, but generally were of an opinion unfavourable to the administration of the College. On April 18, 1799, the Earl of Altamont, the Earl of Mayo, and Lord Tullamore again met as a Committee, and adopted the following report :

'The Lords Committee appointed to examine into the application of the funds bequeathed by Sir Patrick Dun for the establishment of a hospital for clinical lectures, and to report the same, as they shall appear to them, to this house, have met and made a minute inquiry into the matter to them referred, and after an investigation of the books of the College of Physicians, and the examination of the most respectable members of said College, as well as of the Professors of Physic by them chosen, whose testimony is now submitted to your Lordships, it appears clearly that the intentions of Sir Patrick Dun, as explained by the Acts of the 25th and 31st of the present reign,

have not been carried into effect, and, by the unanimous admission of every witness examined, the trust confided in the said College of Physicians has been grossly misused.

‘ It appears to your Committee that by the 31st of the present King it is provided that salaries from the funds of Sir Patrick Dun shall be paid to the three Professors at the rate of one hundred pounds each, and no more, and that the surplus of the income of said estate, which exceeded one thousand pounds a-year after paying the said three professors, should be applied to the establishment and support of an hospital as the best means of extending the knowledge of medicine by uniting the practice to the theory of Physic.

‘ It appears to your Committee that the salaries to the said three professors, at one hundred pounds a-year, and no more, had been regularly paid, but that though no hospital has been permanently established, nor any more than a small sum applied to the support of patients, the only balance of the said surplus now forthcoming is £5 : 9 : 3, though there might have been a Balance of many Thousand Pounds.

‘ In searching for the cause of said deficiency it appears to your Committee that many considerable sums have been expended by said College of Physicians not at all warranted either by the intention of the Testator, or by the several acts of the legislature before alluded to for carrying the same into effect, and among the said items unwisely and unwarrantably expended, your Committee hold themselves bound to notice a present of Claret to the President of the College of Physicians annually, an immoderate purchase of Books, in some instances twice paid for, Law Suits carried on in which the said College were both Plaintiffs and Defendants, and actually paid from said Funds the expenses of both, and Loans to indigent members of said College, which were never repaid in many instances, and which with other charges equally foreign to the said trust have consumed the whole surplus Income of Sir Patrick Dun’s estate which under

wise and frugal management would have afforded means for a great and useful national establishment.

‘ Your Committee being of opinion that there were funds abundantly sufficient for such establishment, earnestly hope that the wisdom of the Legislature will put them under such Regulations as will faithfully discharge the benign intention of the Testator and most extensively benefit the Public.’

This is not the place to enter into a defence of the College of Physicians against the charges contained in the foregoing report, but it is right to say that a careful investigation of the accounts of the College does not bear out the truth of the allegations. With regard to the presents of claret, it is expressly stated in the College Minutes that this was to be paid for out of the private funds of the College, and there is no entry of such expenditure in the trust accounts. In explanation of this gift it should be remembered that the President for each year placed his house at the disposal of the College for their meetings and as a home for their property, there being at that time no other place appropriated to College purposes. In regard to the money spent on lawsuits, it has always been recognized that the legal expenses involved in the administration of a trust should be taken by the trustees from the trust funds. When the Professors put forward their claim, founded on the highest legal opinion, to two-thirds of the income of the trust estate, the College endeavoured to settle the claim by ‘ an amicable suit ’, the expenses of which should be borne by the trust estate, but when this was found to be impossible they resisted

the claim of the Professors in the courts, and two-thirds of the total legal expenses were borne by the private funds of the College. The Irish Parliament at the time was, however, in no condition to judge of the honesty of any body or any corporation, as it was itself hopelessly corrupt. It was, however, in consequence of this report that the School of Physic Act ¹ of 1800 was passed.

This Act set forth that the Professors appointed were to be called the King's Professors of the City of Dublin on the foundation of Sir Patrick Dun, and to be as follows :

Professor of the Institutes of Medicine,

Professor of the Practice of Medicine,

Professor of Materia Medica and Pharmacy,

and when the President and Fellows of the College of Physicians should think fit, or the funds permit of it, a Professor of Midwifery was to be appointed. The existing Professors were to be continued in office. Each Professor was to have a salary of £100 (Irish) a year, and no more, out of Dun's estate. After the payment of the three King's Professors it was estimated that there would be a surplus of about £900 a year. Out of this surplus, after deducting £70 a year for the salary of a librarian, the agent's fees, the expenses of advertising lectures, and other matters incident to the School of Physic, a sum not exceeding £150 a year was to be paid as ground-rent for land on which to build a hospital. The surplus, after these charges had been paid, was to be devoted to

¹ 40 George III, cap. lxxxiv.

building the hospital until it was of sufficient size to contain beds for thirty patients. This hospital was to be called Sir Patrick Dun's Hospital, and the governing body was to consist of the Visitors of the College of Physicians, the President, Vice-President, and Censors of the same, the Provost of Trinity College, and twelve other persons to be elected out of those who might become subscribers; but no physician or surgeon who attended patients in the hospital might become a governor. Eight Commissioners were named for the more speedy building of the hospital, and vacancies among these Commissioners were to be filled by the President and Fellows of the College of Physicians. All moneys and arrears belonging to the estate, as well as the £1,200 vested in the public funds, were to be handed to these Commissioners for building purposes. No clinical patients were to be maintained out of the funds of Dun's estate till the hospital was built and had sufficient accommodation for thirty patients. After that the clear residue, over and above that necessary to support the thirty patients, was to be applied to enlarging the hospital till it could accommodate one hundred patients and contain a room for a library and a lecture-room. When the hospital was completed, and after defraying the necessary charges arising from maintaining one hundred patients and the establishment of the hospital, which were not met by voluntary subscriptions, then the surplus was to be devoted first to paying a salary of £100 to a Professor of Midwifery, and then to such

other purposes connected with the School of Physic as should be approved by the Chancellor or Vice-Chancellor of the University, the Archbishop of Dublin, the Provost of Trinity College, and the Professor of Physic of the University. The King's Professors were to give clinical lectures on the patients in the hospital on two days a week during each session, without any extra salary, and the King's Professors and the University Professors were to 'read such lectures during the space of three months, in alternate succession, as had heretofore been practised, or in such order as they shall agree upon amongst themselves'. Each pupil was to pay a fee of three guineas for each three months' course. Before he was allowed to enter for such a course he was to enter his name with the treasurer of the hospital, and pay to him for the use of the hospital a fee of twenty guineas, unless he was a matriculated student of Dublin, or Oxford, or Cambridge University, and had continued his studies in Arts under a tutor in one of these Universities for at least two years, in which case he was only to pay for the use of the hospital a fee of three guineas. This payment of twenty guineas or three guineas was to entitle the student to be admitted to any course during one year, but if he wished to enter for a further period he was to pay a further fee of twenty guineas or three guineas 'as the case may be by the year'.

The President and Fellows were on St. Luke's Day to elect a librarian, who was to have control of the library, and receive a salary of £70 (Irish),

provided he 'supplied fuel for the Library' and medical lecture-room. Till the hospital was built the books were to be kept in a room provided by Trinity College, which room was to be under the inspection of the Provost. A general control of the library and the purchase of books was to be in the hands of the Chancellor of the University, the Archbishop of Dublin, the Provost, and the Professor of Physic in Trinity College. The University Professors, as defined in the former Act, were to continue on the same footing as before.

The election of the King's Professors was to be carried out as defined in the former Act, the method of choosing the electors, their powers, and the notice of the election being as before, and no elector was eligible for a Professorship. The King's Professorships were, however, thrown open to persons of all nations who professed 'their faith in Christ', but the University Professorships were still confined to Protestants. The oath to be administered to the electors and the Professors was defined, and permission was given for a Quaker to affirm instead of taking the oath. The Professorships were all to become vacant every seventh year, permanence being given, however, to the existing holders of the University Professorships, during good behaviour. At the expiration of the seven years of office the Professor was eligible for re-election, and might be continued in office for a second period of seven years without formal election, provided that three months' notice was

given of the fact in a manner similar to that which was necessary if the election was to be held. The powers of the College to regulate these Professors were the same as before, with a similar power to appeal to the Visitors in case of a deadlock. The clauses relating to the admonishing of the Professors, and those defining their duties and times of lecturing were re-enacted. The clinical lectures were to be given in English, unless otherwise directed by the Colleges, and a room was to be provided in Trinity College for them till the hospital was built. The regulations as regards the fees of students, for lectures other than the clinical lectures, were to be settled by the respective Colleges. The Professors were, when they had completed half the course of their lectures, to return to the Senior Lecturer of Trinity College a list of the pupils who had 'attended them during such part of said course of their respective lectures'.

Till the hospital was built the President and Fellows might permit the clinical lectures to be given in any Dublin Hospital, where this was permitted by the Governors 'without expense to the Estate of Sir Patrick Dun'.

The Act also appointed the Lord Chancellor of Ireland, the Lord Chief Justice of the King's Bench, the Lord Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, and the Lord Chief Baron of the Exchequer, all of the Kingdom of Ireland and for the time being, as Visitors of the College of Physicians. To these Visitors the President and Fellows were once

in each year to 'render a true, just and full account of the receipts and expenditures of the issues and profits of the estates real and personal of the said Sir Patrick Dun'.

It was further decided that any Fellow of the College of Physicians who was appointed a Professor, either University or King's Professor, was thereby to vacate his Fellowship. He might, however, be elected, during the tenure of his Professorship, an Honorary Fellow of the College. Such Honorary Fellows were not to attend the meetings of the College or vote at them unless specially summoned by the President to consult in some matter 'regulating of the practice of Medicine in this City or Kingdom'.

No University Professor or King's Professor was to be allowed to hold the office of 'the King's Professorship of Physic in the University of Dublin', and no one was to be elected a Fellow of the College of Physicians unless he was a Bachelor or Master of Arts or Doctor of Physic of either Dublin, Oxford, or Cambridge University, unless the number of Fellows was reduced to six, in which case such qualification might be dispensed with. William Harvey, Patrick Plunket, and Daniel Bryan, who had recently vacated their Fellowships, were reinstated, and William Harvey was appointed President of the College. Persons professing the Roman Catholic religion were to be eligible for election as Fellows of the College of Physicians, provided they subscribed to the oath defined in 'An Act to enable his Majesty's

Subjects, of whatever persuasion, to testify their allegiance to him', and no other oath was to be administered to such persons.

The clause in the Charter of William and Mary, which admitted all graduates in Physic of the University of Dublin to the College of Physicians without examination, was repealed, and the College was given permission to examine all such persons before admission, 'in the same manner as other persons are usually examined and to reject such of them as shall decline to submit to such examination or shall upon examination appear to them to be unfit to be admitted.'

This Act, which received the Royal Assent on August 1, 1800, defined the statutory obligations of the School of Physic in clear and distinct terms, and under its provisions the School and Colleges are still largely governed.

Shortly after the passing of the Act, James Cleghorn, who was in bad health and showed no aptitude for anatomical teaching, resigned his chair, and William Hartigan, his assistant, was elected in his place. The family of Hartigan, or O'Hartigan, is said to have been one of ancient Irish origin, whose members possessed estates in County Galway.¹ The first of this family we meet in Dublin was Edward Hartigan, apothecary, and member of the Guild of Barber Surgeons, who was admitted to the Freedom of the City of Dublin in 1749. This Edward made his will on the 28th December, 1766, signing it with his mark, he 'not

¹ Cameron, *Hist.*, p. 326.

being able to use his right hand'. In this will, which was proved on the 24th January, 1767, he leaves the residue of his estate and effects to his son William and his daughter Mary when they should come to the age of 18. William Hartigan, born about the year 1766, was educated as a surgeon, and on March 2, 1784, at the first meeting of the College of Surgeons under their new charter, was elected a member of that body. On the 30th October, 1789, he was elected to the Chair of Anatomy and Physiology in the College of Surgeons School, and in September of 1798 was appointed Professor of Surgery. Both these appointments he resigned in 1799, having in the year 1797 held the office of President of the College of Surgeons. On August 31, 1799, the Board granted the request of Professor James Cleghorn that he be allowed to employ 'Mr. Hartigan a Surgeon of eminence' to assist him in his Anatomy lectures during the coming session, and this permission was repeated on the 27th of September in the following year. On July 24, 1802, Cleghorn resigned, and the Board appointed the 30th October following as the date of election of the new Professor.¹ This date was subsequently altered to November 6, in order to permit the statutory advertisements to appear, and on the latter date William Hartigan was elected, being apparently the only candidate for the post. Before the appointment the Board had decided that the Anatomy house should receive temporary repair, provided the repairs were

¹ *Reg.*, vol. v, p. 393.

necessary and the cost did not exceed £20. Cameron¹ states that he has in his possession tickets of admission to the anatomical course in Trinity College, dated November 1804, in which James Cleghorn is mentioned as Professor of Anatomy and Chirurgery, and William Hartigan as Lecturer in Anatomy. Such cards must, however, have been merely remnants of the forms used previous to Cleghorn's resignation and Hartigan's appointment. When Cleghorn resigned the Chair of Anatomy he claimed as his property the anatomical preparations which were exhibited in the school. These were probably the preparations made by his uncle. The Board, however, admitted the claim, but while doing so they adopted the following resolution :

'That whatever preparations should henceforward be made by the Anatomy Professor they shall be considered as College property ; the College however to be at the expense of all the necessary ingredients for making such preparations.'²

About the same time the Board appointed three of their number as a Committee to consider what money the College should allocate to enable the Professors of Botany, Chemistry, and Anatomy 'to render their lectures more useful'. This committee reported on February 12, 1803, that the claim of Dr. Cleghorn to almost all the preparations in the Anatomical Theatre had been admitted by the Board, but the removal of these preparations would interrupt the course of anatomical

¹ Cameron, *Hist.*, p. 327.

² *Reg.*, vol. v, p. 399.

studies, and materially injure the reputation of the University. Under these circumstances the Committee recommended the Board to offer Dr. Cleghorn a sum of £250 for the entire collection. They further recommended that the Board should grant to the Professor of Anatomy a sum not exceeding £15 per annum 'to supply mercury, spirits and other materials for making and preserving such Anatomical Preparations'. Had the Board in the future rigidly adhered to these resolutions the College would have been saved the loss of many valuable anatomical and pathological specimens. On November 6, 1803, a list of the preparations in the Anatomical Theatre, signed by the late and present Professors of Anatomy, was submitted to the Board and ordered to be 'laid up among the College Papers'; the whereabouts of this interesting document has not been discovered.

Hartigan lived first in King Street, Stephen's Green, and then in No. 3, Kildare Street, a house afterwards famous as the residence of James William Cusack. It is probable that he was educated as an apprentice to a surgeon, for we have no record of his having taken a University degree till in 1802 he was granted an M.D. of Trinity College, *honoris causa*. He was twice married, first in December 1780,¹ to a Miss Isabella Steward, and secondly on August 11, 1787, to Anne Elizabeth Pollock, of Jervis Street.² His eldest son, Edward, was for a time his appren-

¹ Cameron, *Hist.*, p. 328.

² *Dub. Chronicle*, 1787.

tice, but eventually left surgery for the Church. Hartigan died of 'ossification of the heart' on December 15, 1812. He had been unable to lecture during the winter session of that year, and at his request on the 31st October, 1812, the Board had appointed Samuel Wilmot to lecture in his place.¹

The Botany School, one of the original departments of the Medical Faculty of the College founded in 1711, was for many years greatly hampered in its work by the want of a garden for teaching purposes. We have seen that as early as 1687² the kitchen garden of the College was to be made into a physic garden at the charge of the College, and at the building of the School in 1711 'the Laboratory and Anatomick Theatre' were to be erected at the south-east corner of the 'Physick Garden'. With the building of the library, which was completed about 1733, this physic garden seems to have disappeared. At any rate we meet with no further mention of it in the *College Registers*, and its existence is not indicated in the plan of the College in Rocque's map in 1750.

William Clements, Lecturer in Botany from 1733 to 1763, was for the last ten years of that period also Vice-Provost, and in that capacity had allotted to him a considerable tract of ground in the north-east corner of the College Park, which was long known as the Vice-Provost's garden. It is probable that Clements made use of this garden in obtaining supplies for his botanical lectures. James

¹ *Reg.*, vol. vi, p. 72.

² *Reg.*, vol. iii, p. 264.

Span, who in 1763 succeeded Clements as Lecturer in Botany, seems to have cultivated a small botanical garden,¹ but where it was situated we have not been able to discover. Edward Hill, who succeeded Span in 1773, was most anxious to establish a large and well-ordered garden, one which would be not only a credit but an ornament to the College. This he looked on as of far greater importance than the establishment of a hospital for clinical lectures, a form of teaching to which, as we have seen, he was not partial. At the time of Hill's appointment the present site of Botany Bay was the kitchen garden of the College, and towards the close of 1774 this ground was taken up for additional buildings for the accommodation of students.² It is possible that it was in this kitchen garden that Span grew the specimens with which he illustrated his lectures, and it is from the former use to which the site was put that the present square owes the name of 'Botany Bay'. On January 21, 1775, the Provost was asked to 'look out for a piece of ground proper and convenient for a Botany Garden',³ but he does not seem to have succeeded in finding such a place. Hill was bitterly disappointed that the School of Physic Act of 1785 did not contain permission for the establishment of a botanical garden, and he set himself at once to try to induce the Board and the College of Physicians jointly to establish such a place. He felt that the more money from

¹ Perceval, *Account*, p. 16.

² *Reg.*, vol. v, p. 298.

³ *Reg.*, vol. iv, p. 299.

the Dun's estate which was spent on other purposes, such as the establishment of a hospital, the less was he likely to effect this object, and it is to this cause that we must largely attribute his quarrel with Perceval.

About the year 1789 Hill applied to the Board for money to support a garden, and they authorized him to make a similar application to the College of Physicians, who on March the 25th of that year resolved that, since the Board were willing to set apart £70 a year for such a purpose, the College of Physicians would co-operate in the undertaking when the necessary estimates were prepared. Hill proposed that the Physicians should grant £100 a year from the trust estate, and a resolution agreeing to this was passed as a first reading on April 15, 1793. In this year, 1793, an Act passed the Irish House of Commons granting the sum of £5,000 to the Dublin Society, of which sum £1,300 was to be applied 'towards providing and maintaining a botanic Garden' and other purposes; of this sum at least £300 was to be expended on the garden.¹ It was hoped that the Society and the Colleges might join in the support of this garden, but the Speaker of the House of Commons, when approached on the matter, said 'he would have nothing to do with the Colleges'.² Hill was so satisfied with the way things were progressing that in December, 1795, with the advice and consent of Provost Murray, he took the lease of a field, about six acres in extent, which he said he

¹ *Statutes of the Realm*, vol. xvi, p. 571. ² Hill, *Address* (1), p. 17.

would hold in trust for the University, and of which he agreed to pay one-half the rent until such time as the whole ground was required by the University for the purposes of a garden. On May 23, 1797, the College of Physicians passed as a second reading the resolution appropriating £100 a year towards this garden. It was then suggested that such application of the funds was outside the powers of the Trustees, and a Committee, consisting of Drs. Perceval, Hill, and Harvey, was appointed to confer with the Board and take legal opinion on the matter. This Committee reported on the 29th of September, 1797, that Dr. Hill received as salary and for the support of a garden the sum of £160 a year, out of which £100 was annually appropriated to the support of a garden, and that the Committee would consider the arrangements for the support of this garden by the two Colleges as soon as the right of the College of Physicians to use the funds of Dun's estate for this purpose was established. Hill then produced to the College of Physicians counsel's opinion that such an application of the funds was quite legal, and the Committee was ordered to meet again and make final arrangements, Dr. Perceval to be the convener, but, before this Committee was summoned to meet, the College of Physicians on the 15th of January, 1798, had before them for the third reading the resolution granting the £100 a year for the garden, which resolution was lost by the casting vote of the chairman. Hill then determined to devote his entire salary to the sup-

port of his garden, but he got little or no encouragement from the University, and when the second School of Physic Act was passed he was compelled, on the 11th of August, 1800, to resign his Professorship of Botany, and Robert Scott was appointed his successor. Hill afterwards endeavoured to recover from the Board the money he had spent on the garden, an attempt which led to considerable dispute, and though both parties agreed on July 4, 1801, to submit the matter to arbitration, eventually, in March, 1803, a case came to trial at the King's Bench, when a consent was made a rule of court by which the Board had to pay Hill the sum of £618 19s. 9d., the garden and all the buildings in it being handed over to Hill absolutely. Each party was to pay its own costs in the action.¹

While this dispute was in progress, on April 11, 1801, the Board decided that the Professor of Botany should be authorized to employ a gardener, 'acquainted with the botanical arrangements of plants', at a salary of £50, in order to assist in collecting plants to illustrate the botanical lectures. This gardener was to live in the house at Harold's Cross, built by Dr. Hill, and to superintend the ground there. The Committee appointed by the Board to report on the annual expenditure necessary to make the lectures of the medical professors more useful, recommended that the Professor of Botany should be allowed to spend £100 a year for supplying and procuring plants.

¹ Hill, *Address* (1), p. 113.

They were of opinion that Botany, 'which as it is connected with general knowledge, and established as a public lecture for all students, ought to be patronised by the University.' They were further of the opinion that 'Dr. Scott's talents and exertions as Professor of Botany well deserve that he should receive from the students instead of 15s. each, the sum of £1 5s. each.'¹ On March 9, 1805, the Board increased the salary of the gardener to £130 a year, on condition that he employed two labourers throughout the year, and additional labourers from the month of March to December.² The next year, on July 5, the Board agreed 'to take a piece of land consisting of . . . acres leased by Lord Fitzwilliam to the College for 175 years at 15 guineas an acre for the purpose of a Botany Garden provided that Dr. Scott the Professor of Botany notify the ground to be in all respects fitted for that purpose.'³ Thus was started the splendid garden at Ball's Bridge, which still remains such a useful and ornamental adjunct to the University. This garden the Board decided to enclose with a wall ten feet high, and on May 6, 1807, a vote of thanks was passed to the Dublin Society 'for the assistance which the Society has voted to our new Botanic Gardens'.⁴ It was decided on the 27th February, 1808, that the Professor of Botany was to lecture four times a week from the 15th of April to the 15th of July, 'provided that if he chooses to conduct his pupils into

¹ *Reg.*, vol. v, p. 403.

² *Ibid.*, p. 452.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 433.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 470.

the country in order to examine the native plants once a week his doing so shall be considered as equivalent to a lecture.'¹ The first twelve lectures of the course were to be open to all students of the University, the remainder being confined to those who paid fees for attendance. Dr. Scott's term as Professor having expired, he was re-elected on the 25th March, 1808, Dr. Leahy and Dr. Halliday being also candidates. Scott, however, died a few months after this election, and on the 16th of January, 1809, William Allman was elected Professor. At this election, Dr. Harty, Dr. Litton, and Dr. Wade, were candidates, as well as Dr. Allman.

The gardener who was appointed to assist the Professor was James Townsend Mackay, who proved himself afterwards a botanist of considerable ability. He was on many occasions given special grants by the Board for the purpose of travelling in different parts of the country to collect specimens for the garden, and in 1836 he published his *Flora Hibernica*, which was long a standard work on the subject. In 1849 the Board granted him the degree of LL.D., *honoris causa*, and he continued in charge of the garden till his death on February 25, 1862, at the age of 85. During his tenure of office the gardens were considerably increased in size, and laid out much in their present form.

The fees to be charged for botany lectures were several times regulated by the Board. On the

¹ *Reg.*, vol. v, p. 480.

5th April, 1791, the Professor was authorized to charge 15s.¹ to each of the senior freshman class for these lectures, and we have seen that in 1803 this fee was raised by 10s. Again on July 13, 1811, the fee was raised to £1 10s., and at this it remained for many years after.

The chemical laboratory, which had been in active use since the foundation of the School, appears to have been developed considerably during the Professorship of Perceval, who, whatever may be thought of him otherwise, was undoubtedly most active in the discharge of the duties of his chair. In 1801 the Board set out the vacations which were to be observed by the Professor of Chemistry.² He was not allowed much relaxation during the winter session, as the vacations were to be 'from the Friday before Christmas Day to the Monday next preceding the feast of the Epiphany. Easter vacation from Good Friday to the Monday next succeeding Easter Monday. Shrovetide vacation, Shrove Tuesday and Ash Wednesday. Days of Public Thanksgiving or Humiliation ; and the days of Quarterly Examinations.' We are not told whether these holidays were fixed in the interests of the students, or to compel the attendance of the Professor, but we may hope it was not necessary for the latter purpose. During the next winter session Dr. Perceval was permitted to employ Dr. Francis Barker to assist him with the chemistry lectures by giving a private course in the laboratory, and

¹ *Reg.*, vol. v, p. 187.

² *Ibid.*, p. 367.

on the 3rd July, 1802, 'twenty guineas was granted to Dr. Barker going to Paris for the purpose of buying fossils.' ¹

On February 12, 1803, Perceval reported 'that in order to fit up the Chemical laboratory, in a manner adapted to the perfect state of Natural Science, with permanent apparatus, a sum of nearly £150 should be allotted, which will render the University lectures a branch of Education suited to the advanced state of Science and productive of that impressive effect which excites the attention of the youthful mind.' ² It was considered that if this money were granted the course in Chemistry would not involve the College in any annual expenditure. Some months later, in December, Perceval handed to the Board a catalogue of the minerals in the laboratory which were to be looked on as College property. During this period Barker continued to assist the Professor, and on the 21st of December, 1805, the Board resolved 'that in consideration of Dr. Barker's extraordinary exertions in the different courses of Chemistry which he has given he be empowered to furnish the Bursar with Bills of his expenses for the course of the current year not exceeding £50 sterling and certified by the Professor.' ³

At the meeting of the Board on February 6, 1808, the Provost announced Dr. Perceval's resignation of the Professorship of Chemistry, and it was resolved 'that the Provost be requested to convey to Dr. Perceval the lively sense which the

¹ *Reg.*, vol. v, p. 392.

² *Ibid.*, p. 403.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 441.

Board entertain of the long and laborious services in that Professorship, of the zeal and ability with which he has discharged his duties & the important effect of his meritorious exertions in exciting & directing the attention of the Country and of the University in particular to the pursuit of chemical knowledge.' ¹ The Professorship was then advertised, and on May 16, 1808, Dr. Barker was unanimously elected. He continued in office for forty-one years.²

Almost immediately after the passing of the School of Physic Act the Board admitted the principle of extern clinical lectures. Had this principle been recognized fifteen years earlier, it would have saved much wrangling, would have rendered the Act of 1800 unnecessary, and would have permitted the money which was spent on the clinical hospital to be devoted to the development of the academic teaching in the School. On October 18, 1800, Perceval applied to the Board for permission to employ Dr. Crampton to give, in place of him, clinical lectures in Dr. Steevens' Hospital. This permission the Board granted, subject to approval by the Governors of the Hospital. Crampton had been appointed assistant at Dr. Steevens' Hospital in the previous February, and at the meeting of the Governors of the hospital held in the chambers of the Right Hon. the Lord Chancellor at the Four Courts on the 29th November, 1800, it was resolved:

'That Dr. Crampton be permitted by the Governors of Dr. Steevens' Hospital to give reports on the cases

¹ *Reg.*, vol. v, p. 480.

² *Ibid.*, p. 490.

of the medical patients whom he visits in said Hospital during the Winter half-year ending May 1st, 1801, to pupils attested by the Senior Lecturer of Trinity College to be regularly matriculated in the School of Physic in Dublin and none others. Said pupils paying for said attendance on said reports six guineas to the Register of the Hospital and to Dr. Crampton for reports and lectures on said reports, five guineas, which lectures are to be delivered in Trinity College.'

'Resolved: that admission cards be provided and signed by the Register and that he make out a list of pupils to be transmitted to the Provost and Senior Fellows of Trinity College who have agreed to allow the attendance on said course for the present Medical Session as one of the Qualifications for Medical Degrees.'¹

This is the first admission of the principle of clinical instruction in the general hospitals of Dublin, a principle which was afterwards to be so much developed, and to become one of the chief features of the Dublin School. This permission was renewed in the following winter session and again in 1802, but the practice was stopped in 1803, as Steevens Hospital was for two years practically in the hands of the military authorities during alterations in the Royal Infirmary.

In 1803 the Board gave leave to Dr. Stokes 'to lend one of his rooms to the gentlemen giving clinical lectures on the cases of the patients in the Meath Hospital for the space of one fortnight and no longer, unless the College of Physicians recommend to us the acceptance of attendance on these lectures as a qualification for a Medical Diploma.'² The College of Physicians replied at once 'that

¹ Minutes, Steevens Hospital.

² *Reg.*, vol. v, p. 418.

attendance on a course of clinical lectures to be delivered by Dr. Stokes at the Meath Hospital for six months, will be considered by the College of Physicians as an adequate qualification for medical degrees so far as the attendance on Clinical lectures constitutes such a qualification'.

In 1805 the Board again extended recognition to the lectures of Dr. Crampton at Steevens Hospital, and this is the last we hear of special permission for such lectures. The present building of Dun's Hospital was sufficiently advanced to accommodate thirty beds in 1808, and no doubt the clinical instruction was given there. Jonathan Osborne, writing in 1844 of Dun's Hospital, states that 'the professors Clinical Courses have been uninterruptedly delivered during the medical sessions for the last twenty-three years', a statement which suggests that previous to 1820 there was little teaching there.

In July, 1821, Robert James Graves was appointed Physician to the Meath Hospital, and a few years later he was joined by William Stokes. It was these two physicians who made the name of the Meath Hospital famous in medical history, and raised the standard of clinical teaching to a height which had never before been known in Dublin.

CHAPTER XI

JAMES MACARTNEY AND WHITLEY STOKES

THE death of William Hartigan, 'the late respectable and lamented Professor of Anatomy,'¹ was to prove an event of great moment in the history of the School of Physic, for on June 21, 1813, James Macartney was appointed his successor.² Macartney, whose name must ever be remembered with honour in Trinity College, was born in Armagh on the 8th March, 1770, where his father, also James, owned some property and enjoyed life as a gentleman farmer. The elder James Macartney was a man of some literary taste and had married in 1760 Mary Maxwell, daughter of the Rev. John Maxwell, a Presbyterian minister and a close friend of Francis Hutcheson, the Glasgow Professor. As a boy the future anatomist was kept under a rigid discipline by his father, and being a delicate child, he received little teaching till he was nearly nine years old. He tells us that at the age of eight years he suffered from a severe attack of ophthalmia which made him almost blind for a year, and it was not till he had recovered from this attack that he learned to read. At the age of ten years he was enrolled in the Armagh Corps of Irish Volunteers, a division of that great

¹ *Reg.*, vol. vi, p. 81.

² *Ibid.*, p. 98.

citizen army of the north which at one time seemed likely to change the history of Ireland. At the age of twelve he was sent to the Classical Endowed School of Armagh, but he only remained there for a short period, and his preliminary education was completed at home under the care of a private tutor. In 1788, on the death of his mother, he went as a clerk to the business establishment of his cousins Andrew and Hugh Carlile, linen merchants of Newry, but his stay there was short, as in 1790 his father died and he returned home to live with his brothers.

While at home he spent his time farming, and he seems to have revived his boyish interest in the political movements of the time, for in 1792 he joined the Society of United Irishmen, and in the following year took part in organizing a branch in Armagh. The Society of United Irishmen was at first more a social than a political organization, but it soon lost its original purpose and came under the ban of the Government. Macartney did not approve all the tendencies of the Society he had joined, and in consequence his relations with the more ardent members became greatly strained. Just at this time, too, he fell very much in love with a Miss Mary Ekenhead, and on her refusing his suit, he suffered from lovesickness, and, as he tells us, he determined to adopt the profession of a Surgeon to harden his heart.

To carry out this intention, and probably also to escape the trying position in which his political opinions had involved him, he came to Dublin in

1794. In March of that year he was bound as apprentice to Hartigan, then Professor of Anatomy in the College of Surgeons' School, and devoted himself with great energy to the study of Anatomy. He also attended the lectures on Chemistry by Perceval in the School of Physic, the only part of his course which he took in that School. While a student in Dublin he became a close friend of many of the leaders of the United Irishmen then in the city, and though never actually sworn a member he was present at many of the Council Meetings. In Dublin, as previously in Armagh, his refusal to take the oath, and his objection to the more violent measures advocated by some of the members of the Society, aroused suspicion, and in 1795 he left Dublin and returned to Armagh. The strenuous life he had led in Dublin seems to have told on his health, and when Miss Ekenhead saw him, she feared that he was still suffering from the heart trouble which her refusal of him had caused the year before. The intervention of mutual friends brought about a renewal of the suit, and on April 10, 1795, James Macartney and Mary Ekenhead were married. At the beginning of the following winter session Macartney returned to his medical studies in Dublin, but early in the year 1796, with the full permission of Hartigan, he left for London. During the next three years he devoted himself to study with great energy, attending classes at Guy's, St. Thomas's and St. Bartholomew's Hospitals, as well as at the Great Windmill Street School. In 1798 he was

appointed Demonstrator in Anatomy to Abernethy at St. Bartholomew's School, and on February 6, 1800, he passed as a Member of the Royal College of Surgeons, London. Almost immediately after obtaining this qualification he was appointed Lecturer in Comparative Anatomy at St. Bartholomew's, and he continued to discharge the duties of this office till the spring of 1811. About the time of his appointment to the Chair of Comparative Anatomy he gave up his post as Demonstrator, apparently as the result of some dispute with Abernethy. In his new position his relations with his colleagues were not quite harmonious, for shortly after his appointment he had a dispute with the Hospital authorities as to the ownership of some preparations he had made to illustrate his lectures. This dispute was eventually submitted to arbitration and decided against Macartney. These preparations had been prepared partly at the Hospital expense, and Macartney immediately began to prepare a duplicate set entirely at his own expense. The question of the ownership of these new specimens was also raised, but Macartney refused 'to part with the absolute and uncontrolled property of these preparations'.¹ These disputes did not tend to make Macartney's relations with his colleagues more cordial, and though he continued to lecture regularly every year, he does not seem to have taken any other part in the School work. In the spring of 1803 he was appointed Surgeon to the Royal Radnor Militia and remained with

¹ Macalister, *Macartney*, p. 59.

the regiment for a period of nine years till it was disembodied in 1812, obtaining leave each spring to deliver his lectures in London. In March, 1811, he was elected a Fellow of the Royal Society, and in August of that year he came with his regiment to Ireland. On the termination of his military duties in 1812, Macartney determined to remain in Ireland and to seek the Chair of Anatomy in Trinity College, on the death of Hartigan, who was known to be seriously ill and not expected ever to lecture again. Although Macartney came to this determination early in 1812, he did not make any movement to seek for the post till after the announcement of Hartigan's death in December of that year. He got little encouragement in his canvass from Mrs. Hartigan, who wrote telling him that her husband before his death had recommended Wilmot for the chair, and went on to say that 'the exertions of the College of Surgeons to draw all the pupils they could to their School, as also the number of Junior Lecturers, reduce our income very much, and these three last years they did not produce above one hundred pounds per annum. If I were to advise you as a friend it would be never to wear out your lungs for such a paltry sum'.¹ It appears that Wilmot, who had been Hartigan's deputy and was a candidate for the post, had promised, if he were elected Professor, to hand over to Mrs. Hartigan the whole of the salary of the public course of lectures, so Mrs. Hartigan's advice to Macartney cannot be

¹ Macalister, *Macartney*, p. 91.

considered quite disinterested. At all events the advice had no influence on Macartney, who at once began a vigorous canvass. He obtained testimonials from all the leading teachers in London, and in May took the M.D. degree of St. Andrews University.

The election was originally fixed for the 3rd of May, but in consequence of a mistake the advertisement, though paid for, was not inserted in the *London Gazette* in proper time, and on February 9 the Board postponed the date of election till June.

Immediately after the death of Hartigan, the College of Physicians had appointed a Committee, consisting of Dr. Hopkins, Dr. Leahy, and Dr. Todderick, to draw up a recommendation to be forwarded to the Board of Trinity College on the subject of the vacant Professorship of Anatomy. This Committee urged the Board to appoint a Physician as Professor, since one of the principal duties of the chair was the delivery of clinical lectures at Dun's Hospital. The Committee went on to state that Medicine and Surgery were now quite separate branches of the profession, and that the students the Professor would have to teach were students of Medicine as distinct from Surgery. It seemed impossible to them for a man to teach Medicine properly who devoted his life entirely to the practice and study of Surgery. This recommendation the College stated was made without partiality for any individual, and without any knowledge of who were likely to be candidates for

the vacant office. The Committee pointed out that the late Professor had uniformly refused to give any Clinical lectures, and that the College of Physicians would have drawn the attention of the Board to this matter before 'had they not been restrained by tenderness towards the feelings of the late respectable Professor'. This report was submitted to the Board at their meeting on January 2, 1813, but they declined to consider the recommendations, stating that the election must be governed solely by the regulations of the School of Physic Act.¹

Just before the election the Board passed the following resolution,² which was to govern the election of a Professor :

'if more votes shall appear for one candidate than for any other, tho' not a majority of the entire votes, such candidate shall be elected. If an equal number of votes shall appear for two or more candidates greater than for any other and the Provost shall be among the voters for one of the said candidates the candidate for whom the Provost has so voted shall be elected. But if the Provost has not voted for any of the said two or more candidates it shall be deemed that no election has taken place.'

On June 21 the Board met to elect the Professor ³ and

'read over the memorials of all the candidates who had presented memorials and lodged their testimonials and documents according to the provisions of the Act of Parliament, viz. of Dr. Samuel Wilmot, Dr. James Macartney, Sir Thomas Moriarty, M.D., Dr. Peter Edward

¹ *Reg.*, vol. vi, p. 84.

² *Ibid.*, p. 96.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 96.

M'Loughlin, and Dr. Richard Ryan. The votes were then taken, when there appeared for Dr. M'Loughlin one vote, viz. Dr. Prior ; for Dr. Wilmot one vote, viz. Dr. Phipps ; and the Provost and the five remaining Senior Fellows for Dr. James Macartney, who was declared duly elected and, being called in, took the Oath prescribed by the Act and was admitted into the Professorship.'

At the following Summer Commencements Macartney was given by the University the degree of M.D., *honoris causa*.

Of the unsuccessful candidates at this election Samuel Wilmot had perhaps the strongest claims on the electors. He had taken Hartigan's place during his illness, and the Board had appointed him, on Hartigan's death, to continue the lectures till the new Professor was appointed, though in doing so they expressly informed him 'that this Permission is not to give him any peculiar claim to the Professorship of Anatomy'.¹ After the election the Board voted him the sum of one hundred guineas as a testimony of their approbation of the way he had performed his duties.

Peter M'Loughlin was a graduate in Arts and Medicine of the University, and a Fellow of the College of Physicians, and he seems to have had the support of that body in his candidature. Sir Thomas Moriarty had been knighted in November, 1810,² but neither he nor Ryan seems to have had any substantial claim to the Professorship.

¹ *Reg.*, vol. vi, p. 81.

² *Knights*, vol. ii, p. 310.

Macartney's colleagues on the staff of the School at the time of his appointment were :

UNIVERSITY PROFESSORS

Medicus	Whitley Stokes.
Regius Professor of Medicine	Edward Hill.
Professor of Botany	William Allman.
Professor of Chemistry	Francis Barker.

KING'S PROFESSORS

Practice of Medicine	Martin Tuomy.
Institutes of Medicine	John William Boyton.
Materia Medica and Pharmacy	John Crampton.

Of these men by far the most distinguished was Whitley Stokes, who, besides being Medicus, had held the King's Professorship of the Practice of Medicine from 1798 to 1812.

Whitley Stokes, the son of the Rev. Gabriel Stokes, an ex-Fellow of Trinity College, was born in Waterford in 1763. His grandfather, also Gabriel, was a distinguished scientific instrument maker and engineer, and had held the office of Deputy Surveyor-General of Ireland. Whitley entered Trinity College in 1778, was elected a Scholar in 1781, and commencing B.A. in the spring of 1783, was elected a Fellow four years later in 1787, being on July 1, 1789, at his own request, elected into the medical Fellowship.¹ On June 22, 1793, having laid before the Board the necessary certificates of his attendance on the several Professors of Medicine, he was granted a *Liceat ad examinandum*, and the degrees of M.B. and M.D. were conferred

¹ *Reg.*, vol. v, p. 77.

on him at the Summer Commencements. In November 1795 he was admitted a Licentiate of the College of Physicians without examination, having in that year succeeded Thomas Elrington as Donegall Professor of Mathematics in the University. In the March previous he had received a grant of £50 from the Board 'for the purpose of Prosecuting his Studies in Edinburgh'.¹ Stokes, like Macartney, became implicated in the United Irishmen movement, and was actually a captain in one of the corps of that body. Like Macartney, too, he did not approve the whole tendency of the movement, and in 1791 he seems to have largely withdrawn himself from the society. In April 1798 the Lord Chancellor, Lord Clare, and Dr. Duigenan, acting as Visitors of the University, held a visitation to inquire as to the existence of seditious and treasonable societies among the students of the College. Stokes was one of the principal men put on trial. He denied that he knew of the existence of any society of United Irishmen, or of any illegal or secret societies in the College. He admitted having been a member of that body himself prior to 1791, and that he had recently attended as physician a man who was known to be a member, but he pleaded as his excuse that the man was sick and very poor. Many witnesses testified in Stokes's favour, and stated that his influence among the students was always used for the best. Lord Clare, however, was implacable, and Stokes was adjudged unfit

¹ *Reg.*, vol. v, p. 269.

to hold the office of College tutor, and was not to be allowed to be elected a Senior Fellow for three years. Subsequently a very strong memorial was sent to Lord Clare in favour of Stokes, and drew from the noble Lord the following letter :¹

‘ Berkeley Square,

‘ Nov. 15, 1799.

‘ Dear Sir,—I am favoured with your letter and a memorial, very respectably signed by some of the Fellows of Trinity College in favour of Dr. Stokes. It is quite unnecessary, I hope, to assure you that it will always give me great pleasure to comply with any request which may come so forcibly urged to me. In the present instance, however, the thing is impossible, as what has been done at the last Visitation is, in my opinion, irrevocable ; and even if it were not, I am sorry to be obliged to state to you that, from my knowledge of Dr. Stokes, he is a most improper person to be entrusted in any degree with the government or direction of any College. If I had been at liberty to act at the last Visitation on perfectly well-grounded private conviction, I must have expelled him.

‘ I am, very truly, your faithful, humble Servant,

‘ CLARE.’

Every action of Stokes throughout his long life shows him to be a man whom Lord Clare could neither buy nor bully, and this may perhaps be urged in extenuation of the harsh sentence passed by the Visitors.

Wolfe Tone in his *Journal*, writing in reference to this incident on May 20, 1798, forms a fairer opinion of Stokes when he says :

¹ Stubbs, p. 300.

‘ With regard to Stokes, I know he is acting rigidly on principle, for I know he is incapable of acting otherwise ; but I fear very much that his very metaphysical unbending purity, which can accommodate itself neither to man, time, nor circumstances, will always prevent his being of any service to his country, which is a thousand pities ; for I know no man whose virtues and whose talents I more sincerely reverence. I see only one place fit for him, and, after all, if Ireland were independent, I believe few enlightened Irishmen would oppose his being placed there—I mean at the head of a system of national education. I hope this last specimen of FitzGibbon’s moderation may give him a little of that political energy which he wants ; for I have often heard him observe himself that nothing sharpened men’s patriotism more than a reasonable quantity of insult and ill-usage ; he may now be a living instance and justify his doctrine by his practice.’¹

The place designed for Stokes by Tone was never to be his, but instead, for many years to come, he was to occupy the most prominent position as a medical teacher in the two great Schools of the country. In consequence of the decision of the Visitors, the Board were compelled on March 3, 1800, to pass over Stokes when a vacancy occurred among the Senior Fellows,² but on June 10, 1805, he was admitted into the Senior Fellowship vacant by the death of Dr. Browne.³ We have seen that during the winter session of 1803–4, Stokes was authorized to give clinical lectures in the Meath Hospital, of which place he subsequently, in 1818, became Physician. For many years he acted as Curator of the University Museum, for which

¹ *Wolfe Tone*, vol. ii, p. 315.

² *Reg.*, vol. v, p. 346.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 435.

service he received a small salary from the Board, and on several occasions was thanked by them for the additions which he had made to the Museum. On June 21, 1806, he received permission from the Board to deliver lectures on Natural History, provided such lectures did not interfere with the other duties of the students. These lectures were to be delivered in the Law School at two o'clock in the afternoon, but though they were continued for several years they are not to be looked on as instituting a professorship, as this subject was for many years deemed part of the province of the Professor of Anatomy.

In 1810 Stokes's energies were directed into a new channel, for on July 14 of that year the Board appointed him to superintend the mines which had been found on the College estates. This appointment was to last for seven years, and Stokes was 'to receive half the clear profit arising from the mines during that period'.¹

From the foundation of Trinity College the statute enforcing celibacy on the Fellows had been nominally in force, but, as we have seen, it was as often honoured in the breach as in the observance. A custom seems to have grown up, whereby it was considered that the statute need only be enforced in those cases in which its breach was brought officially to the cognizance of the Board. Towards the close of the year 1811, however, the Board obtained a King's Letter enforcing the Statute of Celibacy on the Fellows, but freeing

¹ *Reg.*, vol. v, p. 532.

from censure any of those Fellows who, within two months of the promulgation of the Statute, declared themselves to be married before the 'royal will became expressly declared'.¹ Stokes petitioned against any of the College money being expended on procuring this Letter, on the grounds that the governing part of the College had not been consulted on its expediency, and 'because the restraints on marriage contained in this Statute appear to me likely to injure the morals of this College and to give countenance to the formation of convents in Ireland'.² His protest was, however, of no avail, and on January 4, 1812, he gave notice to the Provost that on July 28, 1796, he had married Mary Anne Picknell.³

On February 4, 1798, Stokes was appointed King's Professor of the Practice of Medicine in place of Stephen Dickson. Dickson had been appointed King's Professor of Materia Medica and Pharmacy in 1786, but on the death of Edward Brereton, having resigned this appointment, he was, on the 27th March, 1792, elected King's Professor of the Practice of Medicine. In 1797 Dickson was admonished by the electors for neglect of duty and for persistence of this neglect he was, on December 4, 1797, deprived of his office. Stokes's second term of seven years as Professor ended on February 6, 1812, and on that day Martin Tuomy was appointed his successor. No reason has been assigned for this displacement

¹ *T. C. D. Statutes*, vol. i, p. 241.

² *Reg.*, vol. vi, p. 31.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 33.

of Stokes, and that it did not meet with his approval is evident from the fact that he contemplated taking legal action against the electors on the ground of insufficient notice.¹ The College of Physicians, however, obtained Counsel's opinion that three lunar months', not three calendar months', notice was all that was required by the Act, and Stokes had to remain satisfied with this. On April 11 following he obtained leave from the Board to deliver a course of lectures on the Practice of Medicine in the Medical Lecture Room No. 22, Trinity College. A similar leave was given in the next year, and Stokes continued to lecture on Medicine in the University for some time, though he did not hold any medical professorship.

It has been stated that Stokes resigned his Senior Fellowship on account of conscientious scruples,² he having joined the religious sect known as the 'Walkerites', but this statement is not borne out by the Register of the Board. The sect of the Walkerites had been founded about 1804 by John Walker, a Fellow of Trinity College. Walker held, among other opinions, that all Christians should practise the advice of St. Paul, and 'salute one another with a holy kiss'. A Chapel of the sect was opened in Stafford Street, and the congregation soon became large, but dissensions arose as to the necessity of observance of St. Paul's advice in public assemblies.³ The

¹ *Reg.*, vol. vi, p. 36.

² Cameron, *Hist.*, p. 503.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 486.

two sub-sects resulting from this division were termed at the time the 'Osculists' and the 'Anti-Osculists'. Whether Stokes adopted these opinions or not, or if he did which of the sub-sects he joined, we have been unable to discover, but his own letter leaves us in no doubt that it was for an entirely different reason he resigned his Fellowship.

In 1814 the Board had under consideration the establishment of a Chair of Natural History. It was decided that such a Chair should be instituted and offered to Stokes, if he resigned his Fellowship. The Chair was to be worth £800 a year, but was not at any time 'to be tenable with a Fellowship'; The Professor was to deliver at least twenty-six lectures each year in the months of May and June, and was to be allowed to charge fees for such lectures to any students not on the College books who wished to attend. The appointment was for life, subject to the control of the Board 'in like manner, and under like penalties, as are settled with respect to the Professor of Divinity by the Statutes'.¹ In consequence of this appointment Stokes handed to the Board the following written statement: 'In consequence of my having been elected to the Lecturership of Natural History by the Resolution in the Registry of the 30th of May last, and in Reliance on the same, I do hereby resign my Senior Fellowship in Trinity College Dublin.'²

This action of the Board in so richly endowing a Chair of Natural History has been the subject

¹ *Reg.*, vol. vi, p. 173.

² *Ibid.*, p. 179.

of some comment, but it must be remembered that in their appointment of Stokes they were securing his services as a teacher at a smaller salary than he might justly have expected as a mere administrative officer in the College.

On January 15, 1816, Stokes was elected an Honorary Fellow of the College of Physicians, and on December 14, 1818, he was elected Physician to the Meath Hospital in the place of Thomas Egan, deceased, and on the 15th June following he was elected Professor of Medicine in the College of Surgeons School as successor to John Cheyne. His appointment as Physician to the Meath he resigned in favour of his son the great William Stokes in 1826, but he continued his lectures in the College of Surgeons till 1829, and on November 13, 1830, he succeeded Hill as Regius Professor of Medicine.

In one of the letters of 'Erinensis' to the *Lancet*, which Cameron¹ attributes to Dr. Herries Greene, a very pleasant picture is drawn of Stokes as a lecturer. In this description the writer tells us that 'besides the excellence of the matter in his discourses, the composition is invariably correct, sometimes beautiful and sublime as the subject admits', and again, 'having concluded his lecture he lays aside the didactic formality of their Profession; the elevation of the naturalist subsides into the dignified familiarity of the companion; seated upon the end of his table he is surrounded by his pupils, and inculcates by a

¹ Cameron, *Hist.*, p. 339.

practical illustration those amenities of life of which he is so warm an advocate, and so perfect an example.' ¹

In this courtesy of demeanour, Stokes seems to have differed from many of his contemporaries. Graves, speaking in 1821, contrasts the manners of Irish physicians with those of French, very much to the disadvantage of the former. He speaks of the 'laudable curiosity on the part of the student suppressed by a forbidding demeanour or an uncourteous answer from his teacher'. And again of French physicians, 'we do not find them indulging in coarse, harsh, and even vulgar expressions to their hospital patients; we do not find them with two vocabularies—one for the rich, and another for the poor.' ²

Stokes did not write much on medical matters. In 1793 he published in Latin his thesis for the M.D. degree, taking as his subject 'Respiration'. In 1817 he published a small pamphlet on the subject of contagion, in which he advocated advanced views on the necessity of isolation of the sick and disinfection of their houses. He also published an English-Irish Dictionary, a reply to Paine's *Age of Reason*, and a booklet combating the views of Malthus on Population. On April the 13th, 1845, he died at his house in Harcourt Street at the age of eighty-two; he was survived by his wife for just three years.

¹ *Lancet*, vol. iii, 1824, p. 58.

² *Graves Lectures*, 1864, pp. 6 and 7.

CHAPTER XII

THE NEW SCHOOL

As knowledge of anatomy is the foundation of all study of medicine, so an efficient Anatomical Department is essential to the success of a School of Medicine. With the appointment of Macartney the School of Physic was to enter on a period of activity which had hardly been dreamed of before. Macartney, fresh from the London Schools, full of vigour and energy, determined to make the School of Physic in Ireland equal if not superior to the great schools of London and Edinburgh. The duties of the Professor of Anatomy consisted in delivering a course of twelve Public Lectures, open to all students of the University, and also a course of Systematic Lectures on five days in the week, together with superintending the work in the dissecting-room. Besides this he had to deliver in his turn clinical lectures in the Hospital to the students of the School. This latter duty almost at once caused some friction, for since Macartney had no licence to practise Physic from the College of Physicians the Fellows of that College were not permitted to consult with him. This anomalous position of a teacher of clinical medicine, not himself licensed to practise the subject which he taught, Macartney seems to have made no effort



MEDICAL SCHOOL, OPENED IN 1825

to alter, as he did not apply to the College of Physicians for a licence. Had he done so there can be no doubt that such a licence would have been granted to him as a graduate of medicine of St. Andrews, and an honorary graduate of Dublin. On the 16th of August, 1824, the Fellows of the College of Physicians themselves removed the difficulty by electing him an Honorary Fellow.

On November 1, 1813, Macartney delivered his first introductory lecture in Trinity College, taking as his subject the importance of anatomy in medical education. In that year fifty-three students entered for the systematic course and twenty-one for dissections. This session was so occupied by teaching and preparing specimens for the Museum, and by lecture-room duties, that Macartney had little time left to originate any administrative reform in the School.

The procedure at the final examination for medical degrees was at the time unsatisfactory. The student having finished his course of study presented a certificate to that effect to the Board, who granted him a *Liceat ad examinandum*. This the candidate presented to the Examiners, and at the examination, which was conducted in Latin, each of the Professors in turn examined him orally for fifteen minutes. If the Examiners considered the knowledge shown at this examination sufficient, the Board granted the candidate leave to perform acts, after which he had a grace for his degree. Macartney was anxious to increase the efficiency of the Professors' examination by intro-

ducing practical tests, and to effect this he suggested to his colleagues that they should in the case of each candidate hold a private examination in English, and if the candidate did not pass this examination satisfactorily, he was to be dissuaded from applying for a *Liceat*. This plan did not meet with the approval of the King's Professors, who met to make representations on the subject to the College of Physicians. Boyton and Tuomy drew up a report which was submitted to the College of Physicians at their meeting on October 1, 1814, in which they stated that this departure from ancient custom would tend to lower the standing of the Profession and make the examination held under the *Liceat* a mere formal procedure without dignity. Crampton, the Professor of *Materia Medica*, wrote stating that he was not present at the meeting at which this report was drawn up, and that he had refused to sign it as it did not meet with his approval. The College, however, adopted the view of the two Professors contained in the report, and passed a resolution directing the King's Professors that they were not 'to be present at any examination for medical degrees, in which any question might be put or answer received in the English language'.¹ They also resolved that all the clinical lectures in Dun's Hospital and the reports of the cases taken there, were to be in the Latin tongue. This resolution was sent to the Board of Trinity College, who forwarded a copy of it to Hill, the *Regius* Professor

¹ *Reg.*, vol. vi, p. 138.

of Physic, with a request that he would inform them whether the examinations for degrees held under the *Liceat ad examinandum* were conducted in Latin. Hill replied as follows :

‘Examinations in English as introductory to a learned Profession are so absolutely contrary to the conceptions which I entertain of a literary education, as to render it impossible that I would tolerate them in any case in which I possessed any influence. No instance of the kind has ever happened to me, and in the examinations of Medical Candidates under a *Liceat ad examinandum* how could I in any possibility be satisfied thro’ such examination of the Candidates being *Doctrina idoneum*.’¹

In extenuation of this opinion we must remember that Hill, himself an excellent classical scholar, was at the time seventy-two years old. A compromise was eventually effected through the intervention of Provost Elrington, whereby the preliminary examination, as well as the examination under the *Liceat* were both conducted in Latin.

At this time the number attending lectures in the School rose rapidly, and the old Anatomy House was no longer sufficient for their accommodation. To give more space to the Professor of Anatomy the Board, on January 24, 1815, directed that the ‘wax-works’ should be removed to the top story of the house, and that an additional building should be ‘erected in the garden adjacent to the Anatomy House’.² In the following year the Natural Philosophy School was appropriated to Anatomy, the instruments in it being ‘removed to the Room

¹ *Reg.*, vol. vi, p. 138.

² *Ibid.*, p. 157 a.

over the Ante dining Hall'.¹ Macartney was not content with merely delivering his own course of lectures in the School, but was anxious that the most complete facilities for education should be afforded to students. With this object he applied to the Board for leave for Arthur Jacob to deliver lectures in the Anatomy Theatre on the construction and diseases of the Eye, and permission for this was granted in April 1818.² In the following September he obtained permission for Dr. Pentland to deliver a complete course of lectures on Midwifery. This subject was not at the time taught in the School of Physic. The Board had, on October 1, 1803, permitted Francis Hopkins 'to read the introductory lectures of his course of Midwifery in the Medical lecture room in the College', but a Chair in Midwifery was not established till many years later. As there was a Professor of Midwifery in the School of the College of Surgeons, and the Master of the Rotunda Hospital gave regular courses of lectures in the subject, it was obviously to the advantage of the School of Physic that the students should not be compelled to seek teaching in this important subject in rival institutions.

In 1820 the number of students studying medicine in the School of Physic reached 303, and the problem to find accommodation for them became urgent. Macartney was compelled to repeat his lectures twice each day as there was not room for the entire class in the theatre at one time, and, to

¹ *Reg.*, vol. vi, p. 203.

² *Ibid.*, p. 218.

add to the difficulties, the floors in the old Anatomy House were found to be in a very dangerous state. Under these circumstances the Board, on September 27, 1820, resolved 'that for the present the use of the Building No. 22, is granted for the purpose of holding the lectures in Anatomy and Chirurgery', and that 'a plan for building a new House for those purposes is to be furnished by the Architect to the Bursar'.¹ Macalister² states that this permission was accompanied by the condition that no dead body be brought into the room, but the resolution of the Board, as given in the Register, contains no such proviso.

Nothing more was done about the new building during this session, and in March 1821 Macartney wrote urging the Board to proceed with the new building. In reply to this request the Board informed him that when the Professors and the architect would agree as to the plans the Board were prepared to obtain estimates, and they appointed a committee consisting of Doctors Phipps, Lloyd, and Wilson, Senior Fellows, 'to determine on the best site.'³ This proved a matter of considerable difficulty, and various suggestions were put forward. Macartney wanted a building on the site at present occupied by the Pathological Laboratory and Dental Hospital, with openings into Lincoln Place and into the College. The Provost suggested that the site of the old Anatomy House should be selected, but eventually it was

¹ *Reg.*, vol. vi, p. 280.

² Macalister, *Macartney*, p. 131.

³ *Reg.*, vol. vi, p. 299.

decided that the building should be 'on the ground heretofore the Bowling Green'.¹

The College park at that time presented a very different appearance from what it does at present. When the College was founded its southern boundary was formed by a badly-made road, known as St. Patrick's Well Lane, so called from the holy well of St. Patrick which was situated in the College ground almost opposite the end of the present Dawson Street. About 1682, the old Danish mound, or *Thingmote*, which occupied the present position of St. Andrew's Church, was removed, and the earth of which it was composed was deposited in St. Patrick's Well Lane, so as to raise this considerably above the level of the College ground. The new road thus formed was called Nassau Street, after the Prince of Orange, and the Board of Trinity College built a high brick wall separating their property from the street. About the same time the Board gave permission for a bowling green to be laid down in the park, and allowed as a subscription towards the undertaking the sum received from 'the last Commencement supper fees'.² The park was to a certain extent laid out and planted in 1722, but it remained, especially towards its eastern end, more or less of a marsh where, even as late as the end of the eighteenth century, snipe might sometimes be found. In this condition the park continued till in 1842 the old boundary wall was replaced by the present railings, and in 1852 the ground was drained.

¹ *Reg.*, vol. vi, p. 342.

² *Reg.*, vol. iii, p. 241.

In April 1823 the Board advertised for estimates for the new Medical School buildings, according to the plans of Mr. Morrison, the College architect. Several estimates, varying from £3,980 to £5,350, were received, and that of Messrs. Bergin, M'Kenna and Woods¹ was accepted, and the work was commenced in May. Macalister takes the Board to task for not having insisted that the plans of the building should satisfy the Professors. It would appear, however, that the plans, as submitted by the architect, were sent by the Board to Macartney for his criticism, and the architect was directed to modify his plans in accordance with these criticisms before the Board advertised for estimates. It is always a difficult matter for a body like the Board to adjudicate in a professional matter of the kind, and one does not see what more they could have done than accept the plans of the architect prepared under such conditions. Macartney seems to have felt himself aggrieved that he was not given a free hand in the matter, but just as subsequent events failed to justify his objection to the site selected, so probably he was not infallible in his ideas as to the architectural details. There was, it is true, some difficulty about light, but when the attention of the Board was directed to this, they immediately ordered that the required alteration should be made, and voted a sum of £100 for the purpose.²

There were other troubles connected with the building, besides those connected with the plans,

¹ *Reg.*, vol. vi, p. 342.

² *Ibid.*, p. 352.

for in the Register, on the 14th of February, 1824, we read that 'it appearing that a violent assault had been made on the workmen employed at the new Anatomy House by journeymen carpenters in combination, it was agreed that the Bursar be directed to offer a reward of £100 for the discovery of those concerned'.¹ The reward, however, does not appear ever to have been claimed. One day when Macartney was inspecting the building just before its completion, he met the architect and expressed his opinion of the work in very plain terms. Words led to blows, and the meeting ended by Macartney breaking his umbrella over Morrison's head. An action at law was started in consequence, but peace was made between the parties by the Provost.² On November 1, 1825, Macartney delivered his inaugural lecture in the new School, and stated that 'The Board of Trinity College have bestowed a more valuable gift upon the community by building this house than if they had founded ten hospitals'.³

During this session a most serious charge was brought against Macartney, involving not only his character, but that of the School. It appears that a youth named Clements, who had attended lectures in the School, when dying of fever, had refused the ministrations of the Church, avowing himself an Atheist. This youth protested that any one who studied physiology would naturally come to adopt such views. As Macartney taught

¹ *Reg.*, vol. vi, p. 354.

² Macalister, *Macartney*, p. 164.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 166.

physiology in the School his enemies were only too glad to fix on him the responsibility for this youth's opinions, and a charge of teaching materialism was formulated against the Professor. At the instance of the Archbishop of Dublin, the Board cited Macartney and his accusers to appear before them, in order that the charges might be investigated, and, after a very full hearing of the evidence Macartney was honourably acquitted of the charges by the unanimous vote of the Board. This accusation attracted considerable attention at the time, not only in England, but also in Europe, and Macartney received many letters congratulating him on his acquittal.

It was during the early part of Macartney's tenure of the Professorship that a Society of Medical Students, the forerunner of the present Biological Association, came into active existence. As early as May 2, 1801, permission had been granted for 'a Medical Society under the control of the Board'¹ to meet within the College, but this Society does not seem to have flourished and we hear nothing more of it. On November 26, 1814, the Board granted their permission to a Society of Medical Students to hold their meetings in the lecture-room in No. 22 Trinity College.² This permission was, however, withdrawn in January 1823³ and afterwards the Society seems to have languished, if it did not actually expire. It was revived again in 1853 by Robert Ball, under the name of the Dublin University Zoological and Botanical Asso-

¹ *Reg.*, vol. v, p. 371.

² *Ibid.*, vol. vi, p. 44.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 336.

ciation, and in 1859 published a volume of Transactions, after which we again lose sight of it till it was revived later in its present form.

At this time another trouble which was seriously to menace the prosperity of the School was coming into prominence. In the early days of medical teaching in Ireland there seems to have been no difficulty in procuring an adequate supply of material for anatomical dissections. It did not need a large supply to satisfy the requirements of the five dissecting tables in the old school, and prior to the establishment of the school of the College of Surgeons in 1784, the Anatomical Theatre in Trinity College was the only public dissecting-room in Dublin. In the eighteenth century the supply of subjects was obtained by the removal of recently buried bodies from the city graveyards, for though the College of Physicians had the right of demanding the bodies of a certain number of executed criminals each year for the purpose of dissection this privilege does not seem to have been exercised. The method of procuring anatomical material by robbing graves sometimes got the students into trouble. In the *Dublin Gazette* for September 4, 1750, we read :

‘ Last Fryday evening some young Surgeons went in a Coach to Doneybrook to take up the corpse of a child who had been buried in that Churchyard the night before : While they were digging open the grave, the father of the child got information of it, and assembling some of his neighbours, came to the place by the time they had got the body up ; when they fell on them, took the corpse back again, and severely chastised the young gentlemen for their pains.’

In the same paper for October 2, 1750, there is published a letter from one William Smith, 'now under sentence of death in Newgate,' in which he says :

'As to my corporal frame, I know it is unworthy of material notice ; but for the sake of that reputable family from which I am descended, I cannot refrain from anxiety when I think how easily this poor body in my friendless and necessitous condition, may fall into the possession of the Surgeons and perpetuate my disgrace beyond the severity of the law.'

On these grounds he prays the 'humane' to supply him with funds to enable him to have his body decently buried in consecrated ground.

The difficulty of getting subjects in Edinburgh, and the high price they commanded, culminated in 1828 in the atrocities of Burke and Hare, who systematically murdered persons and sold their bodies to the Schools. The discovery of the crimes committed by these men created a popular outburst throughout the kingdom against the methods of the resurrectionists and led to many riots, in one of which the dissecting-room of Dr. Alexander Moir in Glasgow was burned by the mob. Macartney was fearful for the safety of his own department in the College, especially as at that time the neighbourhood of Lincoln Place, or Park Street, as it was then called, was inhabited by a very undesirable population. There was trouble, too, with the Porter, Cuddy, who appears to have tried on several occasions to stir up the people against the Professor and the School.

Under these circumstances Macartney wrote a letter to the papers in which he says :

‘ I do not think that the upper and middle class have understood the effects of their own conduct when they take part in impeding the progress of dissection, nor does it seem wise to discountenance the practice by which many of them are supplied with artificial teeth and hair. Very many of the upper ranks carry in their mouths teeth which have been buried in the Hospital Fields.’

We do not know what weight this appeal had, but it does not seem calculated to lead to the open support, at all events, of the practice of the resurrection-men. In 1828 he adopted a better method, and drew up the following document, which he signed himself, and induced many other notable persons to sign :

‘ We whose names are hereunto affixed, being convinced that the study of Anatomy is of the utmost value to mankind, inasmuch as it illustrates various branches of Natural and Moral Science, and constitutes the very basis of the healing art ; and believing that the erroneous opinions and vulgar prejudices which prevail, with regard to dissections, will be most effectually removed by practical example ; do hereby deliberately and solemnly express our desire that, at the usual period after death, our bodies, instead of being interred, should be devoted by our surviving friends to the more rational, benevolent, and honourable purpose of explaining the structure, functions, and diseases of the human body.’¹

Macartney took an active part in the legislation which eventually led to the passing of the Anatomy Act of 1832. He gave evidence before the Parliamentary Committee, and though he

¹ *Lond. Med. Gazette*, vol. i, p. 637.

did not approve all the provisions of the Bill, he gave it his general support, believing that some legislation was necessary to remove the difficulties and restraints under which teachers of Anatomy laboured.

In Dublin there does not seem ever to have been an actual shortage of anatomical material before the passing of the Anatomy Act, such as existed in other places, but the constant worry and danger involved in procuring material told heavily on the anatomical teachers and threatened at any time to ruin both them and the School in which they taught.

CHAPTER XIII

SCHOOL MANAGEMENT. MACARTNEY'S RESIGNATION

IN addition to the dissecting-room and chemical laboratory, lecture-rooms had been provided in the new Medical School for the Professors of Anatomy and Chemistry. The three University Professors of Anatomy, Chemistry, and Botany lectured there, the two former in the winter session, from November till the end of April, and the latter in the summer session, from May till July. The other lectures of the School, in the theory and practice of Medicine, in the institutes of Medicine, and in *Materia Medica* and Pharmacy, together with the Clinical lectures, were delivered in Sir Patrick Dun's Hospital. These six Professors, with their various departments, constituted the School of Physic in Ireland, which, being partly housed and paid for by the University and partly by the College of Physicians, was under the joint control of the two Colleges. It is important to remember that at this time the School of Physic was not looked on as the Medical School of Trinity College, any more than it was the School of the College of Physicians.

The charge has often been brought against Trinity College that she neglected her School of

Medicine, and looked on it as something apart from the University and unworthy her care till its very success forced recognition. History, however, does not warrant such a charge, and sufficient answer to it is found in the readiness with which the Board sanctioned the expenditure of over £4,000 on the new school buildings, besides taxing their revenues with a considerable sum yearly for the support of the various Professors and their departments. True, the new Medical School was walled off from the rest of the College, and entrance to it from the College park forbidden, but in explanation of this we must remember that the majority of the students there were not students of Trinity College, and not directly under the control of the Fellows.

The students of the School were divided into two classes, those who took the Arts course in the University, and those who, in accordance with the provisions of the School of Physic Act, had merely matriculated in the School, and of the whole class the latter division supplied by far the greater number. Though the control of the School was equally divided, there was one function over which Trinity College had undivided authority—that of conferring degrees, or qualifications on the students who had completed their courses. Over this function of the University the College of Physicians had no control. The College of Physicians had, it is true, the right given them by the 45th Section of the School of Physic Act, to examine all candidates who sought their licence, and in accordance with the Charter of the College no one could

practise Physic within a radius of seven miles of Dublin who did not possess this licence; still the privilege gave the College little real control over the qualifications of medical practitioners. Comparatively few took the licence of the College of Physicians, and licentiates of both the Royal College of Surgeons and the Apothecaries' Hall practised with impunity, though they were not entitled to call themselves physicians.

We have seen that on the 29th June, 1792,¹ the Board adopted a form of diploma which was to be given to all Medical students who had matriculated in the School, on completing their course of medical study and passing a prescribed examination. This diploma was identical for those who had graduated in Arts and for those who had not, but on the latter the Board would not confer a degree. This caused some discontent among the students, who considered that the diploma held out the promise of a degree, which promise the Board refused to fulfil. To remove this discontent the King's Professors submitted to the College of Physicians for their approval a form of diploma which left out all reference to a degree, merely stating that after due study '*iudicamus eum habilem atque idoneum qui Medicinam exerceat*'. The College approved this diploma and stated that they would examine for licence any one presenting it. The diploma was then submitted to the Board, and on May 3, 1817, it was adopted.² The College of Physicians were, however, not satisfied with the

¹ *Reg.*, vol. v, p. 221.

² *Reg.*, vol. vi, p. 200.

medical curriculum, and on September 14, 1820, they received a report from a committee which had been appointed 'to consider what changes in the system of medical education should be laid before the Board of Trinity College'. This report recommended that the period of study should be lengthened to five years, and that during the third year students should be compelled to attend the Clinical lectures in Dun's Hospital, and that during the fourth year they should attend Clinical lectures 'in some Capital or University out of Ireland where medicine is publickly taught'. This, however, was an admission which would have been fatal to the School, for there would be no justification for its existence and its power to license medical men, were it not in a position to teach them without compelling them to attend at some other school. The report was, however, modified, and on October 2, 1820, it was ordered that the following letter should be sent to the Board of Trinity College.¹

'The President and Fellows of the King and Queen's College of Physicians in Ireland feel it their duty to address you on a subject of great importance, not only to the profession over which they preside, but to the community at large. The manner in which the diplomas in Medicine are conferred in the School of Physic has been found to occasion serious injury to the public by tending to encourage as Medical Practitioners persons who are in no respect qualified to be recognised as such. It appears to the College most strange that while the Surgeon is obliged by law to have an apprenticeship of *five* and an

¹ Col. P. Minutes.

Apothecary of *seven* years, the Physician, whose professional studies are more extensive than either, and whose literary attainments ought to be more general, should obtain a diploma in the short space of three years only.

‘The Academic Degrees of M.B. cannot be procured until the completion of the seventh year after the period of entrance into the University. The College are of opinion that a period of at least *five* years study ought to be required from those who are candidates for the diploma. They would further submit to the Provost and Board of Trinity College that no person be permitted to matriculate until he should have completed his eighteenth year, and that it be considered imperative on each Medical student to attend annually two Professors, and the Hospital and Clinical lectures during the last two years. The College further beg leave to submit to the Board the propriety of coming to a determination on the subject as speedily as may be convenient.’

This letter was received by the Board at their meeting on October 5, 1820, and ‘the Register was directed to communicate to the College their approbation of the principle and to invite them to suggest a detailed plan’.¹ This the College of Physicians at once proceeded to do and presented the following report to the Board.

‘That the principal defects in the present system of medical education are

‘1. The too easy admission of Students many of whom commence their Medical Education without those previous classical acquirements which are indispensable for the study of a learned profession.

‘2. The facility afforded by the very rapid attainment of medical honours, thus legalising practice resting on no solid basis, on the product of a crude and undigested mass of information.

¹ *Reg.*, vol. vi, p. 280.

' 3. The Committee therefore think that if the following regulations, suggested for the adoption of Trinity College, were enacted the errors complained of would be remedied as far as can be expected at present.

' These proposed regulations it will be observed differ somewhat from the first submitted but preserve their spirit.

' 1. That no person shall be admissible as a medical student of the University until he shall have undergone a Classical Examination in the courses required for entrance into Trinity College.

' 2. That Certificates of Medical Study for five Sessions (authenticated by the proper officer) at any University or Universities where residence is enforced, shall be required previous to examination for a diploma, and that the said Certificate shall set forth that the Candidate has during the above mentioned period attended lectures on Anatomy, Chemistry, Materia Medica, the theory and practice of Physic, two courses of Clinical lectures in two separate Sessions (one whereof shall have been delivered in Sir Patrick Dun's Hospital) and has dissected for one Session.'

This important and comprehensive document was sent to the Board who, on November 25, 1820, resolved that

' Such Medical Students as apply for Matriculation be informed by the present Senior Lecturer, that a new arrangement is under consideration respecting the period of medical studies to which they must be subject '.¹

The outlook was distinctly hopeful, and on June 11, 1821, the Registrar of the College of Physicians communicated to that body the substance of a correspondence he had had with the Registrar of Trinity College. Time passed, however, without anything being done, and on

¹ *Reg.*, vol. vi, p. 288.

September 26, 1822, the College of Physicians resolved that the negotiations with Trinity College, respecting medical education, should be revived. Objections were raised by the Board to the suggested scheme, and on the 28th October, 1822, the College of Physicians offered, 'if the Board object to the trouble of examining the candidates for matriculation', to appoint Examiners themselves. Even this did not bring matters to a head, and on April 12, 1823, the College of Physicians learned from the Royal College of Physicians of London that 'they do not consider the Diploma of the School of Physic in Ireland a sufficient qualification on which to grant an examination for license'. Subsequently the College got Counsel's opinion that they were not bound to recognize the diploma of Trinity College but only the degree, yet in spite of this nothing was done to rectify matters till many years later. The College of Physicians did what they could, and on January 17, 1825, directed their Professors 'that they for the future shall call a roll of their respective classes on each day of lecture, and that they shall withhold certificates from such pupils as shall not have attended one-half of the lectures during the present session and three-fourths in succeeding sessions'.

On February 22, 1834, the Board of Trinity College unanimously adopted the following regulations for Medical Students : ¹

'A Bachelor in Arts shall be entitled to a *Liceat ad Examinandum* for the Degree of Bachelor of Medicine

¹ *Reg.*, vol. vii, p. 87.

on his producing Certificates of his having attended the following courses, if the Certificates show that during each of four Sessions he attended one and not more than three of the courses which begin in November.

‘The Degree may be conferred at the July Commencements of his middle Bachelor year.’

The courses of lectures consisted of those delivered by the six Professors of the School of Physic, the course in Midwifery delivered by the Professor of Midwifery of the College of Physicians, together with ‘one year’s attendance on the practice of Sir Patrick Dun’s Hospital including six months’ Clinical lectures in that Hospital’. No increase was made in the length of time to be spent in study, and nothing was arranged with regard to students who did not graduate in Arts. On May 7, 1836, the restriction as to the middle Bachelor year was withdrawn and candidates were allowed to proceed to the M.B., at the Commencements next after that at which they graduated A.B.¹

Not only was there difficulty with the diplomas but soon the degrees were not above suspicion. Thus on April 21, 1838, the College of Physicians drew the attention of the Board to the fact that ‘a full medical degree was without any reason recently conferred’ on a Student of the School who had not graduated in Arts. The Board replied that the degree in question was ‘conferred by inadvertence and a misconception as to the facts’, but at the same time promised that ‘such mistake will furnish matter of future caution and not of

¹ *Reg.*, vol. vii, p. 119.

precedent'.¹ One can picture the joy of the student in thus outwitting the Board, but such a state of things was eminently unsatisfactory. No matter what regulations were made by the School Authorities as to the instruction to be given by the Professors, it was competent for the Board of Trinity College, without consultation with the College of Physicians, to qualify all and sundry who might apply to them for that purpose. That the standard of education was kept as high as it was is greatly to the credit of the University. There was at the time no medical man among the Senior Fellows. The position of Medicus remained vacant from the resignation of Whitley Stokes in 1816, till the appointment of John Toleken in 1838. The Board consequently were entirely dependent on outside advice for information on medical matters. Even so, no great difficulty would have arisen, had the medical faculty, consisting of the Regius Professor and the six Professors, worked harmoniously together. They did not do so, and this want of harmony led to many troubles. Hill, the Regius Professor of Physic, at the time an old man, seems to have taken little interest in the working of the School, and we do not find from the Registers that he afforded the Board any assistance in harmonizing the work of the other Professors. Allman, who was Professor of Botany, and Barker, Professor of Chemistry and Registrar of the Faculty, seem to have been content to pursue their way in peace, but

¹ *Reg.*, vol. vii, p. 145.

Macartney, the Professor of Anatomy and Surgery, undoubtedly the most attractive lecturer in the School, was by no means content to let things take their own way. His activity and anxiety for reform continually led him into conflict with his colleagues, especially the King's Professors, who were not a little jealous that one who was a mere surgeon should presume to dictate to them. We have seen how, in the matter of the Latin examination, though he had the support of Crampton, the Professor of Materia Medica, he was opposed by Boyton and Tuomy, the Professors of the Institutes and Practice of Medicine. A further difficulty arose in connexion with the Hospital. Macartney was in the habit of making *post mortem* examinations on the patients who died in the Hospital, being actuated by the double motive of teaching Pathology to the students, and of obtaining specimens for his museum. The King's Professors objected to this procedure, doubtless feeling that it was not consonant with either their dignity or reputation that their clinical diagnosis should be revised by the *post mortem* findings of an unsympathetic colleague. They may have been of the opinion of the distinguished Dublin clinician of later days who expressed intense dislike to *post mortem* examinations, since they so often upset his diagnoses. From what we know of Macartney, we feel sure that he would not hesitate to tell the students exactly the conditions he found, no matter what opinion might have been formed during the

patient's life by the attending physician. Macartney appealed to the College of Physicians for permission to continue these examinations. The College was of course unable to grant it, and while they expressed a desire that nothing would be done by their Professors to limit the Pathological material available for the students and the museum, they informed Macartney that in their opinion the right to direct a *post mortem* examination rested with the physician in charge of the patient at the time of death, subject of course to the regulations of the Board of the Hospital. The Board of Governors decided the matter by resolving that the physician who had been in attendance on each patient, and no one else, should make the *post mortem* examination in case of death.¹

The next difficulty was more serious, for it ultimately resulted in Macartney severing his connexion with the School. The hours fixed for the various lectures during the winter session beginning Monday, November 7, 1814, were advertised as follows:

' At 9 o'Clock the Patients will be visited at Sir Patrick Dun's Hospital by the Clinical Lecturer.

' At 11 o'Clock Dr. Boyton will lecture on the Institutes of Medicine.

' At 12 o'Clock Dr. Crampton will lecture on Materia Medica and Pharmacy.

' At 1 o'Clock Dr. Macartney will lecture on Anatomy, Physiology, and Surgery.

' At 2 o'Clock Dr. Barker will lecture on Chemistry.

' At 3 o'Clock Dr. Tuomy will lecture on the Practice of Medicine.

¹ Macalister, *Macartney*, p. 192.

'The lectures on the Practice of Medicine, the Institutes of Medicine and Materia Medica will be delivered at Sir Patrick Dun's Hospital those on Anatomy and Chemistry in Trinity College.'

This was a pretty full day's work, but the students had three years in which to take out the lectures, the only regulation being that they should take at least one course and not more than three each year. It was left entirely to the option of the student what order he should take the lectures in, and consequently there was of necessity considerable overlapping. The first difficulty arose in 1822 over the hour for the Clinical lectures, as three of the Professors wished the hour changed to eleven o'clock and two of them to twelve o'clock. Under the circumstances the College of Physicians refused to make any alteration during that session. Then later on Crampton wrote to the College of Physicians complaining that Professor Macartney insisted on giving anatomical demonstrations during his lecture hour. Macartney stated that attendance on the demonstrations was purely optional for the student. The matter was referred to the Board, who however declined to interfere. These matters were adjusted, but later on, when the requirements of Edinburgh University necessitated the attendance on separate courses of lectures on Surgery and Anatomy, further difficulties arose. In order to comply with these requirements, Macartney, in 1832, obtained the sanction of the Provost to divide his course of lectures, taking Anatomy at one o'clock five days

a week, and Surgery at three o'clock on four days. Macalister says that this arrangement was sanctioned by the Board on September 29, 1832, but we can find no entry of such sanction in the *Register*. On October 11, 1832, there is a minute¹ stating that

'The Board directed the Registrar to communicate to Dr. Macartney that nine o'clock in the morning is the only time open for his delivering his extra lectures.'

Macartney, however, appears to have adopted the two hours of one and three o'clock for his lectures. This latter hour was the one appropriated to the lecture of Dr. Charles Lendrick, who had that year been appointed King's Professor of the Practice of Medicine. On November 9, 1833, the Board

'Resolved, that the Registrar be directed to write to Dr. Lendrick to inform him that the only lecture given from three to four o'clock, which will be recognised by the Board as a qualification for a *liceat ad examinandum* is that given by the Professor of the Practice of Medicine.'²

No open rupture had as yet occurred, and on July 29, 1834, Macartney was, according to the Register of the Board, unanimously elected Professor of Anatomy for seven years.³ On December 13, 1834, the Board again approached Macartney on the subject of the hours of his lectures, writing to him the following letter :⁴

'Sir,—I am directed by the Provost and Senior Fellows to direct you to refrain from lecturing at one of

¹ *Reg.*, vol. vii, p. 40.

² *Ibid.*, p. 94.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 79.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 98.

those hours which have been already appropriated to the lectures of another Professor of the School of Physic.'

To this letter Macartney replied, pointing out the difficulties involved by obedience to the order of the Board, and on December 20, the following reply was sent to him :¹

' Sir,—I have read your letter to the Board and am desired to inform you that they will not require you to refrain from lecturing at the hour of three o'clock for the remainder of the present Session ; but they will not extend this indulgence beyond that period.'

On October 13, 1835, a letter was read to the Board from Lendrick, in which it was stated that Dr. Macartney had published an advertisement in the newspaper whereby it appeared that he did not intend 'to comply with the directions given to him to refrain from lecturing from three to four o'clock'. The Registrar was directed to send the following letter to Macartney :²

' Sir,—I am directed by the Board to communicate to you their order of this day which is as follows : Ordered Dr. Macartney shall not lecture at the hour from three to four o'clock, that having been already assigned to another of the Professors in the School of Physic.'

On the 17th of November the Board noted that Macartney had absolutely ignored their order, and so decided to take Counsel's opinion as to the best method of enforcing it. On November 28, there being still no sign of obedience on the part of the Professor, the Board ordered 'that the

¹ *Reg.*, vol. vii, p. 98.

² *Ibid.*, p. 108.

Anatomy House be closed every day from three to four o'clock'.

On the 21st of December it was ordered that 'the closing of the doors of the Anatomy House is to be discontinued as Dr. Macartney gives up his three o'clock lecture'.¹ Matters were now hurrying to a conclusion, and in April 1836 Macartney published an advertisement that for the future he would deliver four lectures each week, two in Surgery and two in Anatomy. Such a course was hopelessly inadequate, as the University of Edinburgh required five lectures in each subject each week. This state of affairs was brought to the notice of the Board on April 28, 1836, and Stephen Sandes, then a Senior Fellow and afterwards Bishop of Cashel, undertook to communicate with Macartney 'in hope that he may change his intention'.²

On April 28, Sandes reported to the Board his failure to move Macartney, and it was decided again to take Counsel's opinion. On November 26 the Board made an order that the Professor of Anatomy was to lecture in the Anatomy Theatre at one o'clock on five days a week during the medical session from the 1st of November to the end of April, 'and that this order be esteemed a Bye-law agreeable to the 26th Sect. of 40th of Geo. 3d.'³ The next entry in the *Register* with reference to Macartney is on July 13, 1837,⁴ 'Dr. Macartney having resigned his Professorship of Anatomy and

¹ *Reg.*, vol. vii, p. 173.

² *Ibid.*, p. 127.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 118.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 134.

Surgery the Board resolved to elect a Successor on the 21st of October.'

We have given the details of this important dispute as fully as possible from the Register of the Board, for Macalister, presenting the matter from Macartney's point of view has, we think, not been quite just to the College. Whatever opinion may be formed as to the wisdom of thwarting a Professor like Macartney who had done so much for the School, there can be no doubt that the Board gave him ample notice of their intention not to allow him to lecture between three and four o'clock. Macartney absolutely disregarded the orders of the Board till, by the closure of the School, he was compelled to desist from lecturing. Obedience having been forced by such drastic measures Macartney seems to have determined to avenge himself, and his proposal to lecture only four times a week was one that could not be tolerated. The Board tried persuasion, and only resorted to compulsion when that failed, and we cannot see that there was any other course open to them than to accept the resignation of an officer who so openly flouted their authority.

Macartney was undoubtedly one of the ablest teachers who had ever held a Professorship in the School of Physic, and besides being a great teacher he was a great reformer. With his pupils, whom he treated with severity but with fairness, he was popular, but he seems never to have got on well with his colleagues. Conscientious and hard working himself he could not and would not

tolerate inefficiency in others, and he never hesitated to express his opinion in the plainest terms of those, no matter what position they occupied, who appeared to him to deserve his censure.

Like all great reformers he was bound to meet with some unpopularity, but Macartney seems rather to have looked for it than avoided it. When, during the fourth period of his tenure of the Professorship he looked back on the work that he had accomplished, he seems to have felt himself absolutely essential to the School and in a position to dictate to every one and to obey none. Such a condition of affairs was impossible, and as Macartney would not give way, there was no alternative but to dispense with his services. Thus while we yield to none in our admiration of the work he did for the School, we cannot but feel that he was himself responsible for his downfall.

The great museum of anatomical and pathological preparations which he had collected in Dublin was sold to Cambridge in 1836, for an annuity of £100 a year for ten years, and in the museum of that University many of the preparations still remain.

The year after his resignation of the Chair of Anatomy, Macartney published in London his classical work on *Inflammation*, which a reviewer in the *Lancet* stated was 'the most original medical work that has appeared since the days of John Hunter'. During the last few years of his life he occupied himself chiefly with problems of

the reform of medical education, and advocated views which afterwards were largely adopted. On Monday morning, March 9, 1843, he was found dead in his study, where he had gone to finish a paper which he was writing for the meeting of the Association of Fellows and Licentiates of the College of Physicians. The last words he wrote before the pen dropped from his hand in death may form his epitaph, for though he is dead his work in the School lives on :

All forms that perish other forms supply
(By turns we catch the vital breath and die),
Like bubbles on the sea of matter borne,
They rise, they break, and to that sea return.

CHAPTER XIV

SCHOOL REFORM—GRAVES AND STOKES

AFTER Macartney's resignation of the Professorship of Anatomy the Board met, and on October 24, 1837, out of eight candidates who applied for the Professorship, elected Robert Harrison. Guided by their previous experience, they insisted on Harrison signing the following declaration : ¹

' The Board of Trinity College Dublin, having elected me into the Professorship of Anatomy and Surgery in the University of Dublin, I do hereby promise and engage to perform the duties of the said professorship with Diligence and Regularity according to the usages heretofore of the said Professorship and conformably to the instructions of the Board, and I fully accede to the regulations made by the Board that all preparations made by the Professor shall be the property of the College, but the expenses attending them to be defrayed by the College.'

Robert Harrison, an Englishman and native of Cumberland, was born in 1796.² In 1814 he graduated in Arts in Trinity College, having previously been indentured as an apprentice to Abraham Colles. In 1815 he obtained the diploma of the London College of Surgeons, and in the following year of the Dublin College, being elected a member of that body on June 9, 1818. In 1817 he was appointed Demonstrator of Anatomy in

¹ *Reg.*, vol. vii, p. 136.

² Cameron, *Hist.*, p. 398.

the College of Surgeons School. He was for a time a pupil of Macartney in the School of Physic, and in the summer of 1824 took his M.A. and M.B. degrees, proceeding to the degree of M.D. in the spring of 1837. On August 4, 1827, he had been elected Professor of Anatomy and Physiology in the College of Surgeons, and he therefore came to the School of Physic with considerable experience as a teacher.

Some ten years before the appointment of Harrison the staff of the School had been strengthened by two notable additions in the persons of Robert James Graves as King's Professor of the Institutes of Medicine, and William F. Montgomery, appointed Professor of Midwifery by the College of Physicians on October 11, 1827. Harrison got over the difficulty of the hours for his lectures by getting the sanction of the Board for himself and Montgomery to give evening lectures. This solution of the difficulty Macartney had always refused to adopt, for he maintained that the entrance to the School from Park Street was not a fit place for students at night time.

The Board granted £100 to the Professor of Anatomy to be 'expended on articles for commencing an extensive collection for a museum for the Anatomy House',¹ and allowed him £30 a year as a salary for an assistant and curator. They also gave him £15 to be given at his discretion in prizes at an annual examination to be held by him in the subjects of his course.²

¹ *Reg.*, vol. vii, p. 137.

² *Ibid.*, p. 176.

On January 19, 1839, a very important memorial was submitted to the Board by the Professors of the School of Physic,

‘praying for a lessening of the number of examinations necessary for a degree in Arts to medical students attending with diligence two of the courses of the medical Professors during each year of the undergraduate course.’¹

The Board, however, replied that they ‘cannot perceive any way in which they can meet their wishes’, but asked for information as to the practice in the Universities of Oxford, Cambridge, and Edinburgh. In consequence of the information they received the Board approved a new set of regulations for medical graduates.²

‘The times for graduation are Shrove Tuesday and the first Tuesday in July. The Medical Examinations terminate on the Tuesday of the preceding week. Candidates must previously have completed their medical education, and produce a chart testifying to the details of the same and subscribed by the Registrar to the Professors of the School of Physic, as well as the persons signing the certificates.

‘Medical students may obtain the degree of Bachelor of Medicine in two ways :

‘1st. Candidates who have graduated in Arts may obtain the Degree of Bachelor of Medicine at any of the ensuing half yearly periods of graduation provided the requisite Medical Education and Examinations shall have been accomplished. The payment at entrance is £15. The fees for the Study in Arts during the four years are £7 10s., each half year, and the fees for graduation in Arts £8 17s. 6d.

‘2nd. Candidates are admissible to the Degree of

¹ *Reg.*, vol. vii, p. 180.

² *Ibid.*, p. 240.

Bachelor of Medicine without previous graduation in Arts at the end of five years from the July following the Hilary Examination of the first undergraduate year, provided the usual Education and Examination in Arts of the first two years of the undergraduate course shall have been completed, as also the Medical Education and Examinations as in the case of other candidates. The fees for the two years' study in Arts (besides the usual entrance payment of £15) are £7 10s. each.

'The graduation fees for the Degree of Bachelor of Medicine are £11 15s. The testimonium of the M.B. degree will contain the following certificate :

'Testamur . . . sedulam operam medicinae narrasse et examinationes coram professoribus feliciter sustinuisse.'

'The Medical Education of a Bachelor of Medicine comprises attendance on the following courses of lectures (of which three at the discretion of the candidate may be attended at the University of Edinburgh) in the School of Physic established by Act of Parliament. His attendance must be distributed through four Anni Medici, so that he must get credit for one course at least, and not for more than three courses in any one session.

'The courses are on Anatomy and Surgery, Chemistry, Botany, Materia Medica and Pharmacy, Institutes of Medicine, Practice of Medicine, Midwifery (by the Professor of the College of Physicians), Clinical lectures at Sir Patrick Dun's Hospital during at least one session of six months, as delivered by the Professors in the School of Physic, the attendance on such Clinical lectures by the Professors to be extended to three additional months of another session, unless the practice of the Hospital be certified by the ordinary Physicians of the Institution to have been attended from the 1st of May till the 1st of November following the session.

'The fees for attendance on the Clinical lectures are regulated by Act of Parliament. They amount to £3 3s. to the Professors for each three months' attendance and (provided the student be of two years' standing in the

University) £3 3s. to the Treasurer of the Hospital for the first year, with a proportionate sum for any longer period. The fees for each of the other courses are four guineas.

‘The Examinations for the Degree of Bachelor of Medicine are conducted by the Regius Professor of the University, the six Professors of the School of Physic, and the Professor of Midwifery to the College of Physicians.

‘No further examination is requisite for the Degree of Doctor of Medicine, which may be taken at the expiration of three years from taking the Degree of M.B., provided the candidate shall have graduated in Arts. The fees for the Degree of Doctor of Medicine, which entitles the possessor to the same election privileges as the degree of Master of Arts, are £22.

‘P.S. The first undergraduate year may be saved by attending the October Examination of that year by a student who has entered not later than the first Monday after July of the same year and who has completed the payments previously made by his class.’

On November 16, 1839, the Board further resolved: ¹ ‘That in future students shall not be admitted to the degree of M.B., having passed (in conformity with the late medical regulations) the Senior Freshman year, except that they pay fees for the half-year in which the final examination of that year takes place.’

By these regulations greatly increased privileges were granted to medical students, while, at the same time, the course of study was made more stringent. The diploma previously given to students who had merely matriculated, and which was so much objected to by the College of

¹ *Reg.*, vol. vii, p. 236.

Physicians, disappeared, and instead students were compelled to take two years of the Arts course, unless they availed themselves of the privilege of saving a year. At the same time the degree of Bachelor of Medicine was opened to those who did not graduate in Arts. A difference was always held to exist between those who took this degree after graduating in Arts and those who did not so graduate, the latter being described as Bachelors in Medicine by diploma, and not being permitted to proceed to the M.D. degree unless they graduated in Arts. Very few of these degrees by diploma were granted, there being only one in the three years 1842-44. In spite of this there was considerable objection to the practice, and in 1842 proposals¹ were received by the Board from the Professors urging that the regulation should be rescinded. On July 14, 1846, the Board resolved to rescind that part of the regulations made in July 1839 by which students were allowed to take the degree of M.B. without previous graduation in Arts.² The regulations as regards clinical lectures were also modified, and in 1841 the Board decided that the students were to attend the course of clinical lectures given during the summer session in Dun's Hospital. This attendance was to take the place either of hospital attendance under the ordinary physicians, or of the additional course of clinical lectures which was formerly required, but was to be in addition to the ordinary winter course.

¹ *Reg.*, vol. vii, pp. 97 and 99.

Ibid., p. 318.

The Board of Trinity College and the College of Physicians, though they disputed about the medical curriculum, still remained on the most friendly terms, and on July 8, 1839, the Board offered to admit to the Honorary Degree of M.D. any six medical men whom the College of Physicians might recommend, even though they had not graduated in Arts. The College expressed their gratitude for the honourable privilege conferred on them, and suggested the names of Robert Reid, M.D., Edin. ; John Mollan, M.D., Edin. ; Robert Collins, M.D., Glasgow ; William Stokes, M.D., Edin. ; Evory Kennedy, M.D., Edin. ; and Aquilla Smith, L.K. & Q.C.P.I. These degrees were conferred at the Summer Commencements, and the subsequent careers of the recipients quite justified the selection made by the College.

Having succeeded in introducing lectures on midwifery into the medical course, the College of Physicians was most anxious to add to the curriculum the study of Medical Jurisprudence, and with this view informed the Board on 17th October, 1839, that Thomas Brady had been elected Professor of that subject, and asked that attendance on his lectures should be made compulsory on those seeking medical degrees. This request the Board referred to the Medical Faculty of the School, who reported that they considered it inexpedient to increase the number of lectures necessary for the students. The College of Physicians was not satisfied with this reply, and in the following May again wrote to the Board

saying that the University of Edinburgh had agreed to recognize Professor Brady's lectures, provided Trinity College, in the event of their requiring such a course, would also do so. The Board, however, declined to make any conditional promise. The College of Physicians did not cease to urge on the Board the importance of this subject. Twice in the year 1842 a deputation of the physicians waited on the Board, but it was not till November 15, 1845, that the Board consented to a conditional promise to recognize the lectures if teaching in the subject was made obligatory.

On March 3, 1849, the following new curriculum was adopted : ¹

	<i>Course.</i>	<i>Duration.</i>
1.	Botany	3 months.
2.	Chemistry	6 „
3.	Practical Chemistry under the Professor of Chemistry	3 „
4.	Anatomy and Physiology	6 „
5.	Practical Anatomy and Anatomical demonstrations under the superinten- dence of the Professor of Anatomy	6 „
6.	Materia Medica	6 „
7.	Institutes of Medicine	6 „
8.	Practice of Medicine	6 „
9.	Theory and Practice of Surgery by a Professor to be appointed by the Board	6 „
10.	Medical Jurisprudence by the Professor of the College of Physicians	3 „
11.	Midwifery by the Professor of the College of Physicians	6 „

The Student not to be required to attend both the courses of practical Chemistry and Medical Jurisprudence,

¹ *Reg.*, vol. ix, p. 92.

but it is to be left to his option to select which of these courses he will attend.

12. Twelve months' attendance on Sir Patrick Dun's Hospital with nine months' attendance on the Clinical lectures at that Hospital.

13. Six months' attendance on the practice of some general Hospital approved by the Board of Trinity College, together with Clinical lectures on Surgery.

The whole course of medical study to occupy four years, one at least of the courses of lectures and not more than three of those which are not optional, to be attended during each year.

Besides the recognition of Medical Jurisprudence this curriculum involved some very important changes, the most notable of which was the separation of Surgery from the Chair of Anatomy. In June of 1842 Harrison had suggested this separation to the Board, but it was not till these new regulations were adopted that his suggestion was carried out, and Robert W. Smith appointed Professor of Surgery at a salary of £100 per annum. This opened the way for the subsequent granting, first of diplomas, and then of degrees in surgery. The recognition of teaching in hospitals other than that of Sir Patrick Dun was also an innovation. The systematic lectures were all delivered in Trinity College instead of partly in Dun's Hospital, in accordance with the resolutions of the Board of the 4th October, 1841, and 25th July, 1846.

During the ten years between 1840 and 1850 the Board made very liberal allowances towards increasing the collections in the various museums

of the College. These grants were made in addition to the sums set aside annually for the upkeep of the departments of Anatomy and Chemistry, and show the interest taken in the teaching of Natural Science. On 15th June, 1840, Dr. Coulter offered his herbarium to the College, provided he was elected curator of the botanical part of the Museum at a salary of £100 a year. This offer was accepted, and during the next four years sums amounting to £1,164 10s. were given to purchase shells, plants, and books for the collection. Of this sum £300 'was given to the Rev. J. D. Sirr¹ on January 30, 1841, for his late father's collection of shells', and a year later £410 to Coulter for a similar collection made by him.² In addition to this Coulter was allowed £50 a year to purchase specimens for the Herbarium, and £50 a year for specimens of zoology. Dr. Coulter died in 1843, and the following year William Allman, who had been the Professor of Botany since 1809, resigned, receiving £100 a year as a retiring allowance. George J. Allman, who on March 26, 1844, succeeded William Allman as Professor, offered to set aside £150 per annum out of his salary to pay a curator of the Herbarium. The Board agreed to deduct only the sum of £100 from the salary of the Professor for this purpose, and to add £50 a year from their own funds. At the same time that Allman made this offer, William Henry Harvey offered his collection of 10,000 specimens to be added to the Herbarium, provided the College

¹ *Reg.*, vol. viii, p. 30.

² *Ibid.*, p. 78.

would elect him to the curatorship, and guarantee to pay him £300 for his collection if he were dismissed from the office.¹ This offer the Board accepted, and allowed him first £10, and afterwards £30 a year to be spent in purchasing additions to the collection. Besides this yearly allowance several payments were made for special additions, such as collections of Hungarian plants, and rooms were fitted up in No. 40, Trinity College, for the Herbarium.²

Harvey afterwards, in 1856, succeeded Allman as Professor of Botany, and was one of the most distinguished occupants of the Chair.

In 1844 yet another collection of specimens was offered to the College by Robert Ball, on condition that he was appointed curator of the Museum at a salary of £200 a year. Besides presenting his collection, which he valued at a low estimate at £500, Ball proposed to attend regularly at the Museum and lecture on its contents, and he also proposed to pay an assistant who would, without additional expense to the College, be able to mount many of the specimens. He stated that his object would be to make the Museum useful as a teaching establishment rather than a mere collection of rarities. Ball was appointed Curator on April 27, 1844, and it is to his exertions that the present Zoological Museum is chiefly due. While he filled this post Ball, in the year 1853, started the Dublin University Zoological and Botanical Society. In 1850 the Board conferred on him

¹ *Reg.*, vol. viii, p. 206.

² *Ibid.*, p. 241.

the degree of LL.D., *Honoris Causa*, and in 1851 he was elected secretary of the new Queen's University, but was allowed by the Board to continue as Director of the Museum.¹ Ball died on the 30th March, 1857; his son, Sir Charles Ball, is the present Regius Professor of Surgery.

The School of Physic was fortunate in having on its staff during this period of its career two of the most distinguished men to be found in the long roll of Irish physicians. The names of Graves and Stokes are written large on the pages of Medical History, and the reputation of the Dublin School owes to these two men a debt the extent of which it is difficult to overestimate.

Robert James Graves was the son of Richard Graves, Senior Fellow of Trinity College and Regius Professor of Divinity, and Eliza, daughter of James Drought, also a Fellow of Trinity College. Born in Dublin on March 27, 1797, Graves was educated in Trinity College, where he graduated B.A. in 1815, and M.B. in 1818. He then spent three years in foreign travel and study, visiting the great schools of London, Edinburgh, France, Germany, and Italy, and while in the latter country formed an intimate acquaintance with the great artist Turner. Returning to Dublin, he was, on the 27th November, 1820, admitted a Licentiate of the King and Queen's College of Physicians, and on July 31 following was elected Physician to the Meath Hospital. At the beginning of the winter session of that year Graves delivered

¹ *Proc. Zoolog. and Bot. Assoc.*, p. 7.

his first introductory lecture to the students of the hospital, and pointed out those broad principles of medical education which were destined to change the clinical teaching not only of the Dublin School but of the Medical Schools throughout the world. The keynote of this method was the personal observation of disease by the student under the guidance of a sympathetic teacher. 'From the very commencement the student ought to witness the progress and effects of sickness, and ought to persevere in the daily observation of disease during the whole period of his studies.' In this lecture Graves gives a graphic picture of the method of clinical teaching then in vogue, and from it we can understand how great was the difference between his method and that in general use in the hospitals. Under the old method the majority of the students never came in contact with the patients at all, but had 'to trust solely to their ears for information'. This information, too, in Dun's Hospital, was, till the year 1831, given in Latin, or, as Graves says, 'I have called the *language* Latin, in compliance with the generally received opinion of its nature.' On April 7, 1823, Graves was chosen a Fellow of the College of Physicians, and on October 2, 1827, was elected King's Professor of the Institutes of Medicine. From this time till his resignation in 1841, Graves taught in the School of Physic and Dun's Hospital, while at the same time he continued his clinical lectures in the Meath. In 1838 he took a leading part in the foundation of the Dublin Pathological

Society, and was its first President. This Society, the first Pathological Society established in the United Kingdom,¹ continued its separate existence till, with the other medical societies of Dublin, it was merged in the Royal Academy of Medicine in Ireland. In 1843 Graves published his *System of Clinical Medicine*, which contained his celebrated clinical lectures. These lectures had previously been published in the medical papers of the day, and in 1838 an edition of them had been issued in Philadelphia in Dunglison's *American Medical Library*. Of this work it is unnecessary that we should speak in detail. The teaching contained in it on such subjects as nursing, the treatment of fevers and consumption, represents the basis of our present practice.² Trousseau, writing of the work, says :

'For many years I have spoken of Graves in my Clinical lectures ; I recommend the perusal of his work ; I entreat those of my pupils who understand English to consider it as their breviary ; I say and repeat that, of all the practical works published in our time, I am acquainted with none more useful, more intellectual.'³

In 1827, on his election as King's Professor, Graves had to vacate his Fellowship of the College of Physicians, but was immediately admitted as an Honorary Fellow, and on his resignation of the Professorship he was reinstated, and elected President in the years 1843 and 1844. In the former year he resigned his physiciancy to the Meath

¹ Hurry, p. 7.

² Walsh, p. 174.

³ Graves, *Lectures*, 1864, p. vii.

Hospital, 'in consequence', as he says, 'of finding that I could no longer discharge my duties to the patients and pupils in a satisfactory manner.'¹ In 1849 he was elected a Fellow of the Royal Society, and he was also a member of many of the learned societies of Europe. He died on March 20, 1853, after a protracted and painful illness, which was borne with courage and patience.² As an obituary notice published at the time says: 'By his death the Irish School has lost one of its brightest ornaments; one whose labours had made his name familiar in every European and American School.'³

The life of the great William Stokes has been told so well and so often by different writers⁴ that it is only necessary to give the briefest outline of it here. William, the son of Whitley Stokes, was born in Dublin in July 1804. His early education was conducted at home under the eye of his father, his tutor being John Walker, ex-Fellow of Trinity College, and founder of the Walkerite sect already referred to. At first Stokes seemed to be an indolent, if not a stupid, pupil, but later on he devoted himself to study with that energy which characterized his later life. In his early days he was the constant companion of his father, and for some time assisted him in his lectures on natural history in Trinity College. After some short preliminary study in the school of the College of

¹ Ormsby, p. 125.

² *Studies in Physiology*, p. lxxxiii.

³ *Med. Times and Gazette*, March 26, 1853.

⁴ Stokes, *Life*; Acland, *Memoir*; *Dub. Univ. Mag.*, August 1874.

Surgeons and in the School of Physic, William Stokes went to Glasgow, where he chiefly worked at chemistry in the laboratory of Professor Thompson. Leaving Glasgow he proceeded to Edinburgh, where he graduated M.D. in 1825, reading a thesis *De Ascite*. Before he graduated in Edinburgh he published a small octavo book of 239 pages, entitled *An Introduction to the use of the Stethoscope ; with its application to the Diagnosis in Diseases of the Thoracic Viscera including the Pathology of these various Affections*. For this work, which was one of the first on the subject published in the English language, he received the sum of £70. After taking his degree in Edinburgh, Stokes returned to Dublin, and was at once appointed one of the physicians to the Dublin General Dispensary, and in the following year, on the resignation of his father, he was appointed Physician to the Meath Hospital. There he began his lifelong friendship with Graves, and there the two great physicians together developed that clinical teaching which has made the name of the Meath Hospital famous in the annals of medicine. On December 3, 1825, Stokes was admitted Licentiate of the College of Physicians, and was elected Honorary Fellow on St. Luke's Day, 1828, having in that year published *Two Lectures on the Use of the Stethoscope*. In 1826, Whitley Stokes, then Professor of Medicine at the College of Surgeons, asked the Royal College of Surgeons that his son William might be associated with him in his lectures in order that the students might enjoy the benefit of his clinical teaching

at the Meath.¹ The request was refused, and in 1829 William Stokes succeeded Henry Marsh as Lecturer in Medicine in the Park Street School, which post he held till 1842. In 1837 he published his work on the *Diseases of the Lungs and Windpipe*, a work which immediately placed him in the forefront of medical thinkers of his time, and which still remains one of the classics in the literature of our profession. On October 12, 1840, Whitley Stokes resigned the Regius Professorship of Medicine in the University, and William was immediately elected to that office for the period of his father's lifetime.² On the death of Whitley Stokes the Regius Professorship became vacant, the Board had the difficult problem of deciding between Graves and Stokes, who became candidates for the post. On May 3, 1845, Stokes was elected, receiving four votes, while Graves received three.³ Though the subsequent career of Stokes fully justified this choice, one cannot help regretting that Graves was not elected, as then the roll of Regius Professors might have included the names of both these men.

During the thirty-eight years that Stokes held the Professorship he worked with a whole-hearted devotion to the interests of the School and University. Almost every page of the Registers of the Board bear testimony to the work he did in watching the interests of the University and guiding the development of the School. In the negotiations

¹ Cameron, *Hist.*, p. 449.

² *Reg.*, vol. viii, p. 15.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 259.

which led to the passing of the Medical Act of 1858, he acted as the ambassador of the Board, and, on the formation of the General Medical Council under that Act, Stokes was nominated Crown representative for Ireland. Every one of the reforms in the School of Physic during Stokes's tenure of office bear his impress, and many were entirely due to his exertion and influence.

In 1854 appeared his work on the *Diseases of the Heart and Aorta*, which was really the second part of his former publication. Besides these formal works the contributions from his pen to the medical papers were numerous, so many indeed that a mere enumeration of them occupies nearly five pages in the volume of his life which was published by his son in 1898. It was in this work on the *Diseases of the Heart and the Aorta* that he describes that form of respiration associated with his name and that of another great Irish physician, John Cheyne. The passage is so admirable as a piece of descriptive writing that we give it in full :¹

' A form of respiratory distress, peculiar to this affection (fatty degeneration of the heart) consisting of a period of apparently perfect Apnoea, succeeded by feeble and short inspirations, which gradually increase in strength and depth until the respiratory act is carried to the highest pitch of which it seems capable, when the respirations pursuing a descending scale, regularly diminish until the commencement of another apnoeal period. During the height of the paroxysm the vesicular murmur becomes intensely puerile.'

¹ *Heart and Aorta*. p. 336.

During his long life Stokes received honours from many societies and corporations. In 1836 he was one of the six men on whom, at the recommendation of the College of Physicians, the Dublin University conferred the degree of M.D. *Honoris Causa*, and in the October of that year the College of Physicians elected him a Fellow, choosing him as their President in the years 1849 and 1850. In 1861 he received the honorary degree of LL.D. of Edinburgh, in 1865 the D.C.L. of Oxford, and in 1874 the LL.D. of Cambridge. In 1862 he was appointed Physician in Ordinary to the Queen in Ireland, and in the following year was elected Fellow of the Royal Society. In 1867 he was President of the British Medical Association, and in 1874 of the Royal Irish Academy. Thus did men delight to honour our great Regius Professor, and honouring him did honour to themselves. In 1876 illness compelled Stokes to withdraw from active work, and he retired to his home, Carrig Breacc, at Howth, where he died peacefully on January 6, 1878.

CHAPTER XV

MEDICAL LEGISLATION

WHILE Stokes was Regius Professor of Medicine several Acts dealing with medical matters were passed by the English Parliament, and many changes were also made in the regulations of the School of Physic. The agitation which eventually resulted in the passing of the Medical Act of 1858, was noticeable as early as 1841 in the deliberations about the School, and the Board of Trinity College took an active part in the preliminary inquiries concerning the Bill. On several occasions both the Regius Professor and Dr. Montgomery, the Professor of Midwifery, represented the Board in London at these inquiries. The College of Physicians on January 4, 1845,¹ wrote to the Board stating that they had learned that the University of Dublin proposed to enter into a concordat with the London College of Physicians, and with the Universities of Oxford, Cambridge, and Edinburgh, for the purpose of establishing a conjoint final examination in Medicine. The College of Physicians desired to join in this concordat, and to this proposal the Board expressed their agreement. This proposal was never carried out, but it is interesting in view of the more recent suggestion of a one-portal system for medical qualification.

¹ *Reg.*, vol. viii, p. 263.

The election of Robert W. Smith as Professor of Surgery, in pursuance of the resolution of the Board on March 3, 1849, caused considerable annoyance to the Council of the Royal College of Surgeons, who applied to the Board for the recognition of the curriculum of their School in the case of students seeking degrees. With a view to giving effect to such an arrangement, the Board on November 12, 1850, adopted new regulations with regard to the Medical School. By these regulations any candidate for the M.B. degree might take his courses in the College of Surgeons School, provided such courses were equivalent to those of the School of Physic, and provided also he attended one *Annus Medicus* in the School of Physic.¹ Students in Arts, whose names were on the College books, were to be allowed free attendance on one course of each of the University Professors' lectures, while medical students in the Junior Sophister year were to be allowed credit for the terms and term examinations of that year. Students were also to be permitted to take the Bachelor degree in Medicine at the same commencements at which they took the B.A. Licentiates of the College of Surgeons who were graduates in Arts, were to be permitted to present themselves for the examination for the M.B. degree as soon as they had finished one *Annus Medicus* in the School of Physic. This latter regulation was not to take effect unless the College of Surgeons agreed to admit Bachelors of Medicine of the

¹ *Reg.*, vol. ix, p. 293.

University of Dublin to the Licence of the College on their producing certificates of having attended two courses in the School of that College, or in some school recognized by that College. The Board further decided that an *Annus Medicus* in the School of Physic could be kept in any one of the four following ways :

1. Two professional courses of six months each
2. One six months' course and two courses of three months each.
3. Three three months' courses of clinical lectures at Sir Patrick Dun's Hospital and further a Professor's course of six months.
4. A similar attendance on the clinical lectures with an attendance on two of the Professors' courses of three months each.

These regulations were submitted to the Council of the College of Surgeons, who replied on December 7, 1850,¹ that they were most anxious to encourage their licentiates to become graduates of Trinity College, and consequently were prepared to admit to their examinations all graduates in Arts of the University who produced certificates of surgical education required by the by-laws of the College, of which certificates those required for the M.B. degree might be considered part. The Board replied that they would require all the certificates of all the Professors of the School of Physic to be recognized by the College of Surgeons if any plan of reciprocity was to be established. This, in view of the establishment in the School of

¹ *Reg.*, vol. ix, p. 307.

Physic of surgical lectures, the College of Surgeons refused to do, and the negotiations fell through.

On February 22, 1851, the Board received a memorial from the medical students of the School praying for the establishment of a School of Surgery.¹ The Regius Professor was sent to London to confer with the Medical Boards of the Navy and Army, to see whether a diploma, if granted by the University, would be recognized. The reply was favourable, and the Professors of the School suggested that the curriculum for such a diploma should extend over four years, during which time the following courses should be taken out :

Anatomy and Physiology	}	of each three courses.
Demonstrations and Dissections		
Theory and Practice of Surgery		
Chemistry	}	of each one course.
Practice of Medicine		
Midwifery		
Materia Medica		

Also a three months' course of Practical Chemistry, Botany, and Medical Jurisprudence, and attendance for three sessions, each of nine months' duration, at the practice of a general hospital approved by the Board, with attendance on the clinical lectures on medicine and surgery there delivered. Of the twenty-seven months' hospital attendance, six might be passed at a lying-in hospital approved by the Board, but not more than three of the six months' courses of lectures

¹ *Reg.*, vol. ix, p. 344.

were to be taken in any one year. The surgical diploma was to be given to any student who had completed his full surgical curriculum, and had taken out one year's Arts study. After the completion of this one year's Arts study it was not to be necessary for the student to keep his name on the College books.¹ The Colleges of Surgeons of both Dublin and London protested against this scheme of the University. They declared that it was a violation of the rights of their Colleges, and a degradation of the profession of surgery. The medical papers of the time were flooded with letters and articles intended to prove that the University had no capacity to teach surgeons, and no authority to license them. The College of Surgeons in Ireland went so far as to write to Primate Beresford, who was the Chancellor of the University, but the Primate contented himself with forwarding the letter to the Board. The Board, however, satisfied with the correctness of their attitude, answered all and sundry who complained, and on January 24, 1852, proceeded to the election of a University Professor of Surgery, who was to hold office for a period of five years at a salary of £100 per annum, and whose duty was to conduct the examinations for the surgery diploma. There were two candidates, James William Cusack, M.D., and Robert Adams, M.D.; the former was elected by four votes to three.² The Board further agreed to charge the sum of £2 10s. for the surgery diploma.

¹ *Reg.*, vol. x, p. 63.

² *Ibid.*, p. 112.

While the Board and the College of Surgeons were wrangling over the validity of the surgical diploma, the President and Fellows of the College of Physicians were associating themselves more closely with the School of Physic. They approved the surgical diplomas of the University, and expressed satisfaction at the attention which the Board was paying 'to the important object of raising the standard of medical and surgical education.'¹ On September 3, 1852, the College of Physicians agreed to admit to the licence of the College, without examination, all graduates of the University of Dublin who had performed their full acts, provided such candidates paid the necessary fees and fulfilled the by-laws of the College.² This privilege was conditional on the President and Censors of the College being permitted to take part in the examinations and vote on the admission of all candidates for medical graduation. The Board accepted this condition, and thus, after a lapse of a hundred years, the President and Censors of the College of Physicians again became *ex officio* examiners for the medical degrees of the University. The scheme, however, did not last long, for on March 11, 1854, the College suggested to the Board further regulations as to the summoning of the College of Physicians to the examinations, and suggested that a fee of a guinea should be paid for the attendance. The Board agreed to the suggestions, but professed themselves unable to discover any fund from which the fee was to

¹ *Reg.*, vol. x, p. 91.

² *Ibid.*, p. 163.

be derived. On April 26, 1856, the Professors of the University discussed this arrangement for the final examination, but at the time were unable to come to any conclusion. On June 14 a new plan for conducting these examinations was finally agreed to, in which the co-operation of the College of Physicians was not included.¹ Under the new scheme the candidates were to be examined 'on the usual Academic plan, i.e. that they be examined in Class and all on the same days'. The examination was to take place in the College Hall, and occupy two days. The professors were to be summoned to the examination, and the summons was to contain the names of the candidates who were to be examined. The examination was to be partly by printed and partly by oral questions; the written part taking place on the first day from 10 to 12 a.m., and from 3 to 5 p.m., the *viva voce* on the second day, each candidate being examined for a quarter of an hour. At the end of the examination the Professors were to meet in the hall and decide who had passed the examination, and declare the results. These regulations were adopted by the Board, but, though there was no function left for the President and Censors of the College of Physicians in the examination, their official connexion with it did not terminate till two years later, when on July 31, 1858, the Board was informed that the College did not intend for the future to send examiners to the degree examinations. The Board referred this

¹ *Reg.*, vol. xi, p. 37.

communication to the Professors of the School, who replied that they thought 'that the system in question has had sufficient trial, without producing the beneficial results expected from it',¹ and in this opinion the Board concurred.

On August 2, 1858, the first Medical Act received the Royal Assent. The General Council of Medical Education and Registration established by this Act was empowered to form a Register of all duly qualified medical men. The qualifications of those entitled to be entered in this Register, besides men in practice before August 1, 1815, were defined in the Schedule. The registrable qualifications in Ireland were the Fellowship and Licence of the Colleges of Physicians and Surgeons, the Licence of the Apothecaries' Hall, as well as the degrees of Doctor and Bachelor, and the Licence in Medicine and the Mastership of Surgery of any University in the United Kingdom. The General Council was given power to require evidence as to the course of study of persons who sought registration, and also to inspect the examinations of those bodies who were authorized by the Schedule to issue registrable qualifications. The Council were to report to the Privy Council any defects which they might thus discover, and the Privy Council might refuse registration to the persons qualified by the defaulting corporation. The Act also empowered the Council to strike off the Register persons adjudged guilty of conduct infamous in a professional respect. Duly qualified

¹ *Reg.*, vol. xi, p. 256.

persons were defined as persons registered under the Act, and those not so registered were deprived of certain privileges. This Act remains substantially in force at the present day, though some eleven amending Acts have since been passed.

By one of these amending Acts, passed in 1860, the licence and diploma in Surgery of any University of Ireland was recognized as a registrable qualification, and in 1876 a further amendment made the degree of Bachelor of Surgery a registrable qualification, and opened the Register to women. It was not till the amending Act of 1886 was passed that a triple qualification in Medicine, Surgery, and Midwifery was made an essential condition of registration.

Almost immediately after the passing of the Act, on October 11, 1858, the Board again modified the regulations for the medical degrees. On that date a decree passed the Senate modifying the University Statutes.¹ Chapter X of the new Statutes repealed the old Statute, *De gradibus in medicina capessendis*, and replaced it by one which made it necessary for a candidate for the M.B. degree to be a graduate in Arts, to have completed four years' study of Medicine, and on examination by the medical Professors to have been found *idoneum*. In order to proceed to the degree of Doctor of Medicine the candidate must have been qualified to take his M.B. for three full years. He must then make two solemn praelections

¹ *Statutes*, vol. ii, p. 172.

before the Regius Professor of Medicine dealing with some medical subject. By the supplementary portion of this decree, the rules for the M.B. were made also to apply to the degree of M.Ch. These regulations were further modified by the Statute of June 22, 1872, the chief change then introduced being the granting permission to hold an examination before the Regius Professor for the M.D. degree, if that course seemed good.¹ On July 18, 1860, the Senate decreed that a licence in Medicine or Surgery might be granted to those who had completed their professional courses but had only taken one year of the Arts course,² and on December 12, 1863, this licence was made free to those who satisfied the requirements of the Board, even though they had not completed one year's Arts.³

Previous to 1860, medical students of the University had only been subjected to one examination during the time of their medical study, viz. the degree examination, but on November 3 of that year the Board decided that in future there should be two. The first or 'previous' medical examination was to be held at the end of the second year, 'the other, as heretofore, after the full curriculum of medical study is completed.' At the previous medical examination the students were to be examined in Anatomy and Physiology; Botany and Materia Medica; Chemistry, theoretical and practical, with Chemical Physics. This examination, though adopted in 1860, was not to become compulsory till the year 1863. At

¹ *Statutes*, vol. ii, p. 294.

² *Ibid.*, p. 208.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 237.

MEDICAL LEGISLATION

the same time the Board decided to offer competition two medical scholarships, tenable two years at twenty pounds per annum. The examination for these scholarships was to be held at the end of the second year of medical study; candidates were required to be of at least Senior Freshman standing, and to have kept one *Annus Medicus* in the School.¹ The first of these scholarships was awarded in June 1861, to William Faussett Smith, there being no 'qualified candidate for the second'.²

During the nineteenth century there had sprung up in Dublin a number of Medical Schools which, though they had no power to grant licences to their students, possessed in many cases complete teaching staffs. In some instances these private schools had only an ephemeral existence, dependent on their founder, who, if a good teacher, was quickly absorbed into the staff either of the School of Physic or of the College of Surgeons. In other cases, however, the schools had a more permanent existence. The Richmond or Carmichael School and the Ledwith School have only recently been amalgamated with the School of the College of Surgeons, and the Catholic University School has become the medical school of the National University. Besides these three, the Park Street School and the Stevens's Hospital School were the most important. The former was founded in 1824 in Park Street or Lincoln Place as it is now called, in the building which was

¹ *Reg.*, vol. xi, p. 422.

[² *Ibid.*, p. 449.

afterwards used for St. Mark's Hospital. The staff consisted of such men as James William Cusack, Sir Henry Marsh, James Apjohn, and Arthur Jacob. This school continued in active existence till 1849, and was a formidable rival to the School of Physic. In that year the principal proprietor, Hugh Carlyle, formerly one of Macartney's demonstrators, was appointed Professor of Anatomy in the Queen's College, Belfast, and the school was closed. The Steevens's Hospital School, founded in 1857 in pursuance of the report of the Dublin Hospital Commissioners, continued to attract quite a large class of students till it was closed by order of the Governors twenty-three years later.

In January 1859 the negotiations with the Royal College of Surgeons, which had been broken off in the year 1850, were again brought forward, and the Board decided to receive the certificates of the Professors of the Royal College of Surgeons 'as qualifications for all students applying for the *Liceat ad examinandum*, provided they had kept an *annus medicus* in the School of Physic and complied with the other regulations in the Medical School'.¹

It was almost essential for the success of any private school that its certificates should be recognized by both the College of Surgeons and Trinity College. On February 4, 1859, the teachers of the private schools applied for such recognition, offering to give the Board the right of inspection

¹ *Reg.*, vol. xi, p. 315.

of the schools, and also a veto upon the election of their Professors.¹ The Medical Professors recommended a limited recognition, but the Board declined to recognize 'any Private Schools'. Towards the end of this year, however, other counsels prevailed, and on October 12, 1859, recognition was extended to Steevens's Hospital School, the Carmichael School, and the Ledwich School, on 'condition that duly certified returns of attendance on not less than three-fourths of the entire number of lectures in each course be regularly furnished to the Senior Lecturer'.² The Board were most anxious to insist on a bona fide attendance on three-fourths of the lectures delivered, but it was found difficult to enforce such a rule even in the case of the School of Physic, and much more so in the case of the private schools.

In 1865 the Board again insisted on the rule, and threatened that if it were not strictly obeyed they would cease to recognize these lectures altogether.³

On April 5, 1867, the School of Physic Act Amendment Act became law. This Act contains the only alteration which has been made in the School of Physic Act of 1800, and although by it some of the worst features of the former Act have been repealed, there remains much that could with benefit be modified. The first section of this Act removed the religious disabilities of the Professors of the School of Physic and opened these

¹ *Reg.*, vol. xi, p. 324.

² *Ibid.*, p. 368.

³ *Reg.*, vol. xii, p. 158.

offices to persons of all nations, whether they held a medical degree from any University or not. The second section repealed that part of the former Act which governed the election of the King's Professors, placing that election in the hands of the President and Fellows of the College of Physicians, and permitting the Fellows to become candidates for the Professorships. The Professors of Chemistry and Botany were relieved from their duties as clinical lecturers in Sir Patrick Dun's Hospital, these duties being assigned instead to the Professor of Surgery and the University Anatomist. If either the University Professors or the King's Professors neglected their duties at the Hospital, then it was to be competent for their respective Colleges to appoint a deputy to deliver the clinical lectures. Section XXXI of the former Act, which regulated the time of the systematic lectures in the School, was repealed and the Colleges were empowered to make regulations governing these lectures. A King's Professor of Midwifery was to be appointed on an equal footing with the other King's Professors, and was to give instruction in the subject at Sir Patrick Dun's Hospital. Section VII altered the arrangements made in the former Act concerning the Library, and set aside from the funds of the estate £70 as a salary for the Librarian, £30 for the purchase of books, and £6 6s. for a library porter. The purchase of books and the management of the library were also entrusted to the College of Physicians. The King's Professors, who by the

former Act had on their appointment to resign their Fellowships, were relieved of this disability. This Act is commonly known as 'Haughton's Act', since it was mainly due to the energy of Dr. Samuel Haughton, then Registrar of the School of Physic, that it was placed on the Statute book.

On May 28, 1870, the Board by decree decided to establish a diploma in State Medicine and sanctioned the curriculum for this diploma that had been recommended by the Professors of the School of Physic. The establishment of this diploma, the first of the kind in the United Kingdom, was due to the initiative of William Stokes, Regius Professor of Medicine. It was not till 1875 that the Universities of Cambridge and Edinburgh followed the lead given them by Dublin University,¹ so that in this important department of medical study Trinity College has shown the way to every other licensing body in the kingdom. By the Medical Act of 1886 this diploma was made a registrable qualification.

At the same time that the Board decided to institute a diploma of State Medicine, the Professors of the School recommended that a degree of Bachelor of Surgery should be established. Since the establishment in 1858 of the Master's degree in Surgery it had been on a similar footing to the degree of M.B., but since the institution in 1872 of the Bachelor's degree, that of Master has come to be looked on as a higher qualification.

¹ Rivington, p. 399.

In 1876 an amending Medical Act was passed which made the Bachelor's degree in Surgery a registrable qualification.

In 1876 the Board established the degree of Master in Obstetrics on a similar footing to the original degree of Master in Surgery.¹ In 1887 they added the degree of Bachelor of Obstetrics, thus completing the medical curriculum in its present form.

A new departure of great importance to the School of Physic was made by the Board on June 30, 1863, in the appointment of Samuel Haughton as Registrar of the School.² Haughton had graduated in Arts and been elected a Fellow in 1844, in 1851 had been elected Professor of Geology. In the following year he took his M.A. degree, and in 1862 was admitted M.B. and M.D.

During the fifteen years that Haughton acted as Registrar he was closely identified with every movement for reform in the School of Physic, and it was mainly due to his influence that the School of Physic Act of 1800 was amended by the Act of 1867. With the appointment of a Medical Registrar there also came into being the Medical School Committee, consisting of the Professors of the School with the Registrar as Secretary. This Committee met frequently, and considered all matters connected with the School and made recommendations to the Board. Though at times there were differences of opinion, and the Committee resented the authority assumed by the

¹ *Reg.*, vol. xiii, p. 327.

² *Reg.*, vol. xii, p. 67.

Registrar, yet on the whole they worked most harmoniously and loyally for the good of the School. The Board had the advantage of the advice of this Committee on all matters of importance in the School, and it was no longer possible, as it was in the closing years of the eighteenth century, for one man, through his influence with the Board, to direct the fortunes of the School into those channels which seemed most suitable to his own ideas.

On January 11, 1879, Haughton resigned ¹ the Registrarship, and was nominated by the Board as Chairman of the Committee, his place as Registrar being filled on January 25 by the appointment of the present holder of the office, Mr. Henry W. Mackintosh. Many honours fell to the lot of Haughton during his long and brilliant career. In 1858 he was elected a Fellow of the Royal Society, in 1868 he was created D.C.L. of Oxford, in 1880 he was granted the LL.D. of Cambridge, in 1881 he was elected a Senior Fellow of Trinity College, and in 1884 he was made LL.D. of Edinburgh. He was elected Vice-President of the Royal Irish Academy in 1877, and was a member of many of the learned and scientific bodies of the kingdom.

In the management of Sir Patrick Dun's Hospital he took an active interest, and it was due to his influence that in 1864 the Hospital was opened to surgical as well as medical patients. He was also the active agent in establishing in

¹ *Reg.*, vol. xiv, p. 50.

the Hospital the modern system of trained nursing. In the Hospital his memory is honoured by the presentation each year of a silver Medal in Clinical Medicine and Surgery. From 1869 till his death in October, 1897, Haughton presented these medals himself, and since then they are provided by a fund which he bequeathed to the Hospital for the purpose.

CHAPTER XVI

THE SCHOOL STAFF

WHILE the changes detailed in the last chapter were in progress, the personnel of the teaching staff in the School underwent considerable alteration. The first notable change occurred in June 1840, on the death of John Crampton, who had been King's Professor of Materia Medica since 1804.

Having graduated M.D. at Edinburgh in 1793, with a thesis *De Amaurosi*, Crampton returned to Dublin, and, as we have seen, was in 1800 permitted by the Board to deliver clinical lectures to the students of the School in Steevens's Hospital. He was at that time Assistant Physician to the Hospital, and nineteen years later he succeeded William Harvey as full Physician; he also held the post of Physician to the House of Industry Hospitals, and to Swift's Asylum. As a lecturer in Materia Medica Crampton does not appear to have been a great success. Writing of him in the *London Medical Gazette*,¹ 'Eblanensis' says:

'He goes through the business of lecturing like one who is bound to the performance of a heavy task. . . . His mode of delivery, which is generally cold and spiritless, is occasionally varied by being dry and sour. With chemical

¹ Vol. i, p. 533, 1828.

experiments he would seem to have nothing whatever to do; he seems to have a great contempt for that science in general: it is evidently too troublesome and too productive of dirt and annoyance to be permitted to interfere with his concerns. . . . The samples and specimens which he daily sends round by way of illustration are already venerable specimens of the antique, worthy of a distinguished niche in some great national museum of the curious relics of former times. They are the very same musty articles which he has been exhibiting for the last twenty years, and it is not a little laughable to hear him reiterating every session his eternal apologies for their imperfections.'

On the death of Crampton in 1840, Jonathan Osborne succeeded him, and occupied the Chair of Materia Medica with credit and distinction for twenty-four years. He was a good scholar, an energetic worker, and the author of many papers on both medical and historical subjects. In 1862 he described an instrument which he called 'an animal heat thermometer',¹ with which he proposed to estimate the effect of different atmospheric conditions on the human body by the length of time that it took the thermometer to cool from the body temperature to that of the air. This time varied with the temperature, moisture, and movement of the air, and the quicker the cooling took place the more effect the change had on the human body. The instrument was ingenious, but the results obtained from it were not sufficiently practical to be of much value. Osborne died on January 26, 1864, at the age of

¹ *Dub. Quar. Journ. Med. Science*, vol. xxxiii, p. 273.

seventy years. Aquilla Smith, who succeeded him, had been a Licentiate of the College of Physicians since 1833, and was one of the six men selected by the College in 1839 to receive the degree of M.D. *honoris causa* from the University. Smith was associated with his colleague, James Apjohn, in the preparation of the *Dublin Pharmacopoeia*, which was published in 1850. His writings on medical subjects were not numerous, but he wrote many papers on the history of Irish medicine, to which frequent reference has been made in these pages. For twenty-nine years he acted as Representative of the College of Physicians on the General Medical Council, where, with William Stokes and James Apjohn, he watched over the interests of the School of Physic. His lectures, though models of careful preparation, in later life were not altogether successful, and during the summer session of 1881 the disturbance in his class attracted the attention of the Board. The students complained that the lectures were inaudible to the majority of the members of the class, and the Board requested him to appoint a *locum tenens* for the remainder of the session. Order was restored and Smith continued to lecture till the end of the session, but resigned his appointment on the 1st July following. His son, Dr. Walter George Smith, the present occupant of the chair, was elected in his place. Aquilla Smith died at the age of eighty-four on March 23, 1890.

Robert Law, who had on October 12, 1841,

succeeded Graves as Professor of the Institutes of Medicine, was a distinguished graduate of Trinity College, having been elected Scholar in 1817 and admitted M.B. in 1822. He continued in office till the close of 1873, when, owing to serious illness, which resulted in a complete loss of voice, he was compelled to resign. He was succeeded in February of the following year by John Mallet Purser, who had graduated B.A. in 1860 and M.B. in 1863. In 1869 Purser had been appointed lecturer in ophthalmology at Steevens's Hospital, and Professor of Anatomy and Physiology in the Carmichael School. We have not been able to identify accurately what interpretation the previous Professors put on the term Institutes of Medicine, but it was not Physiology as we now understand it. Law for many years had lectured on Pathology and the Practice of Medicine.¹ The term *Institutiones Medicinae* had been in common use at all events since the end of the sixteenth century, when Joh. Heurius published at Leyden in 1592 his *Institutiones medicinae, acc. Modus ratioque Studendi eorum qui medicinae operam dicarunt*.² In the School of Physic it was customary for the Professor of Anatomy to include Physiology in his lectures, and as late as 1879 it was considered the duty of that Professor to sign the certificates of students '*in Anatomia et Physiologia*'. Purser, however, from the very start lectured in Physiology, and at the beginning of

¹ *Med. Press and Circular*, November 4, 1872, p. 402.

² Haller, vol. ii, p. 272.

the winter session of 1874, on the recommendation of the Professors, the Board and the College of Physicians decided that a three months' course of lectures on Animal Histology, given by the Professor of the Institutes of Medicine, should be compulsory on all candidates for the M.B. degree. At the same time the Board authorized the expenditure of £110 for the purchase of instruments for teaching this subject.¹ In 1878 it was decided that Institutes of Medicine, Physiology, should be a winter course, and Institutes of Medicine, Practical Histology, a summer course.² The establishing of such courses was not of much use so long as the Professor had no satisfactory accommodation for lecturing, and consequently on June 28, 1879, Haughton, as Chairman of the Medical Committee, laid before the Board a recommendation that a Histological Laboratory should be built.³ In this recommendation it was stated that there were at the time 'sixty-eight medical students in Trinity College studying Histology with very imperfect appliances for the purpose'. It was further urged that, as a new laboratory had recently been built for the Carmichael School, unless such accommodation were supplied in Trinity College students would be drawn away from the School. The Board resolved 'that the Bursar be authorized to obtain tenders for the erection of the proposed Histological Laboratory in accordance with the plans and specifications of

¹ *Reg.*, vol. xiii, p. 195.

² *Reg.*, vol. xiv, p. 33.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 84.

the College Architect', and an expenditure of £2,700 was subsequently authorized for this purpose.¹ At the beginning of the winter session of 1881 the Board further granted the sum of £225 10s. for appliances for the new laboratory, and an annual grant of £100 for maintenance, Dr. Purser intimating to them that he intended 'to transfer the whole contents of his private laboratory to the new institute'.² On December 17, 1881, the Board accepted with thanks the proposal made by Dr. Purser that he should give an extra course of lectures on Pathology to those students who had entered for his course in Histology.³ Thus was begun that splendid course of lectures on Practical Pathology which was continued uninterruptedly by Dr. Purser till, in 1895, the Board appointed a special lecturer in the subject. On the resignation of Professor Purser in 1901, Dr. William H. Thompson, the present holder of the chair, was appointed by the College of Physicians as King's Professor of the Institutes of Medicine.

Charles Richard Lendrick, King's Professor of the Practice of Medicine, whose dispute about the hour of lecturing led to Macartney's resignation of the Professorship of Anatomy, died in 1841, and was succeeded, on the 7th of October, by George Greene. Greene had originally intended to devote himself to Surgery, and in 1823 had graduated B.A. and been admitted a Licentiate of the College of Surgeons. He was one of the first demonstrators of Anatomy appointed on the

¹ *Reg.*, vol. xiv, p. 90.

² *Ibid.*, p. 143.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 213.

opening of the Park Street Medical School, where he showed great aptitude for teaching. In 1828 he met with a gun accident, which resulted in the loss of his right hand at the wrist-joint, and in consequence he was compelled to abandon Anatomy and Surgery. In 1829 he graduated M.B., and the following year was admitted a Licentiate of the College of Physicians, being elected Fellow on St. Luke's Day, 1832. In 1831 he was elected Lecturer in Medicine in the Carmichael School, and just before his election to the King's Professorship he was appointed Physician to the House of Industry Hospitals. Greene did not live long to enjoy his Professorship, for on April 5, 1846, he died of typhus fever at his home in Fitzwilliam Square. He was succeeded by John Creery Ferguson, who had been Professor of Medicine in the Apothecaries' Hall from 1837. Ferguson resigned the Professorship in 1849, being appointed Professor of Medicine in Queen's College, Belfast, which position he filled till his death on June 24, 1865. He was succeeded on December 18, 1849, by John Thomas Banks, who occupied the chair for twenty years till his resignation in 1869.

On February 1, 1868, the Board of Trinity College adopted the following resolution :¹ ' That in future no University Professor of the School of Physic shall be allowed to hold an appointment to any clinical hospital other than that of Sir Patrick Dun. This resolution not to apply to existing arrangements.' On February 21 the

¹ *Reg.*, vol. xii, p. 296.

College of Physicians adopted a similar resolution with regard to the King's Professors, and Banks, who had been appointed Physician to the House of Industry Hospitals on December 2, 1843, felt that he could not, in accordance with the wishes of the College, hold both appointments, and consequently resigned his Professorship. Previous to this time it was usual for teachers to hold appointments in two or more clinical hospitals, a practice which both the Board and the College of Physicians felt was detrimental to the best interests of the School. It was easier, however, to condemn the practice than to end it, and an effort to enforce the rule led, as we shall see, to serious difficulties with the Professor of Anatomy. The Board steadily declined to recognize the clinical teaching of other hospitals on the same footing as that of Sir Patrick Dun's till that hospital secured the exclusive services of its staff, and eventually, when existing interests had gradually died out, the rule became general that no physician or surgeon should be on the staff of more than one clinical hospital.

On the resignation of William Stokes the Board, on February 16, 1878, elected Alfred Hudson Regius Professor of Medicine.¹ Hudson, the son of a Congregational clergyman in Staffordshire, was born in 1808, and began his medical education as an apprentice to a general practitioner in his native town.² As a student it was his ambition

¹ *Reg.*, vol. xiv, p. 10.

² *Dub. Journ. Med. Science*, July 1882.

to become a Fellow of the London College of Physicians, for which a necessary qualification was that he should be a Doctor of Medicine of either Oxford, Cambridge, or Dublin University. Being a Nonconformist the English Universities were closed to him, so in 1830 he entered Trinity College. There he graduated M.B. in 1834 and M.D. in 1861. After taking his degree he studied for a winter session in Edinburgh, and then returned to his native town, where he engaged in practice for a short time, during which he became a Member of the Royal College of Surgeons, England. In 1836 Dr. Gilroy, of Navan, whose daughter Hudson was about to marry, had a stroke of paralysis, which incapacitated him from further practice, and Hudson decided to settle in Navan and take up his work. Shortly after he was appointed Physician to the Fever Hospital in the town, and he continued to practise there till the death of Dr. Gilroy nineteen years later. This event, coupled with his failure to secure the appointment as Surgeon to the County Infirmary, decided Hudson to come to Dublin, where, in 1854, he started practice, taking a large house in Merrion Square. In 1856 he was appointed Physician to the Adelaide Hospital, a post which he resigned in 1861 on his appointment to the Meath Hospital. There he worked as the colleague of Stokes till 1871, when increasing private practice compelled him to resign his hospital duties. In this year he was elected President of the College of Physicians, to which he had been admitted a

Fellow in 1857. In 1878 he was appointed Physician in Ordinary to the Queen in Ireland, as well as Regius Professor, and Crown Representative on the General Medical Council. On September 29, 1880, he resigned the Regius Professorship,¹ and died on the 29th of the following November.

On November 13, 1880, John Thomas Banks was elected Regius Professor, a position which he filled with honour and credit to himself and to the University till failing health compelled him to resign in 1898. During his long life Banks was the recipient of many honours. Born in 1815, he graduated B.A. and M.B. in 1837, and, having become a *Candidate* of the College of Surgeons the previous year, he was admitted a Licentiate of the College of Physicians in 1841, and elected a Fellow three years later. In 1869 and 1870 he was President of the College, and in 1889 was made a K.C.B. On several occasions Banks was offered a knighthood, but this title he always refused, and on one of these occasions *Punch* attributed to him the following telegraphic correspondence :

‘ Nolo Equescopari.’

‘ To Dr. Banks—

Wilt join the ranks

Of Knights ? ’

‘ From Banks—

‘ Declined with Thanks.’

Translation.—I will not be made a Knight. This is canine-ical and not canonical Latin.²

He died on July 16, 1908.

¹ *Reg.*, vol. xiv, p. 142.

² *Punch*, July 28, 1883 ; Cameron, *Hist.*, p. 567.

Banks was succeeded in the King's Professorship of the Practice of Medicine by William Moore, who had in 1861 been appointed Lecturer in Medicine at the Ledwich School. He in turn was succeeded in 1882 by Dr. John Magee Finny, who held the office till his resignation in 1910, when Dr. James Craig, the present Professor, was appointed.

The first occupant of the Chair of Midwifery, established by the College of Physicians in 1827, was William Fetherston-H. Montgomery. He had been elected a Scholar of Trinity College in 1820, and had graduated B.A. in 1822 and M.B. in 1825, in which year he was admitted a Licentiate of the College of Physicians. All through his long career as Professor, till his resignation in 1856, Montgomery was a most active member of the School staff, and took a keen interest in everything that affected the welfare of the School. It was mainly due to his exertions that the Chair of Midwifery was established, and it may be safely said that it was never filled by a more brilliant occupant. In 1837 he published his classic work entitled *An exposition of the Signs and Symptoms of Pregnancy, the Period of Human Gestation, and the Signs of Delivery*,¹ which reached a second edition in 1856. On December 21, 1859, Montgomery died, leaving behind him, as Dr. Arneth, of Vienna, said, a name which 'is known and honoured wherever Midwifery is practised'.²

¹ Lond., 1837.

² *Med. Times and Gazette*, December 31, 1859.

He had collected a valuable museum of obstetrics, gynaecology, and embryology, which he sold shortly before his death to the Queen's College, Galway, where it is still preserved.

Fleetwood Churchill, who succeeded Montgomery in 1856, was a graduate of Edinburgh, and M.D. *honoris causa* of Dublin. He was a voluminous writer, and published many works dealing with obstetrics, gynaecology, and the diseases of children. He resigned the Chair in 1867, and shortly afterwards retired to his home at Ardtree in Co. Tyrone, where he died on January 31, 1879.

In 1867 the Chair of Midwifery was, by the School of Physic Act Amendment Act, raised to the dignity of a King's Professorship, and in that year Edward Burrowes Sinclair succeeded Churchill. In 1869 Sinclair started in Dun's Hospital an institution for training soldiers' wives as midwives, and in recognition of this service he was knighted on December 16, 1880.¹ On his death, which took place on March 24, 1882, he was succeeded by John Rutherford Kirkpatrick, who was in turn succeeded in 1889 by Arthur Vernon Macan.

Francis Barker, who had been appointed Professor of Chemistry in 1809, continued to hold office till the expiration of his sixth term of seven years, when he was retired on a pension of £150 per annum, which he enjoyed till his death, at eighty-six years of age, on October 8, 1859. On

¹ *Knights*, vol. ii, p. 372.

June 8, 1850, James Apjohn, Vice-President of the Royal Irish Academy and Fellow of the College of Physicians, was elected Professor of Chemistry. In 1844 Apjohn had been appointed Professor of Applied Chemistry, and in the following year Professor of Mineralogy, chairs which were connected with the Engineering rather than with the Medical School. Apjohn had started originally as a science lecturer in the Cork Institution, and afterwards was Lecturer in Chemistry in the Park Street School. In 1828 he had been elected Professor of Chemistry in the College of Surgeons School, and in 1832 he was one of the founders of the City of Dublin Hospital. On the passing of the Medical Act of 1858, he was appointed the Representative of the University on the General Medical Council, and he continued to serve in that capacity for twenty years.

On the resignation of Apjohn, Dr. James Emerson Reynolds was appointed Professor. Reynolds had been for some time Professor of Analytical Chemistry in the Royal Dublin Society, and in 1873 had been appointed to the Chair of Chemistry in the College of Surgeons School. In 1880 he published a text-book of Experimental Chemistry, which for many years satisfied the requirements of the students of the School. It was during Apjohn's tenure of the chair that the Professors of Chemistry and Botany were relieved by the Act of 1867 of their duties in Sir Patrick Dun's Hospital, and Reynolds never lectured there. On his resignation in 1903 Dr. Sydney Young was elected.

William Allman, who had been appointed Professor of Botany in the same year as Barker had been appointed to the Chair in Chemistry, resigned in 1844, and was succeeded by William James Allman. In 1854 Allman the younger was elected a Fellow of the Royal Society,¹ and in 1855 he was appointed Regius Professor of Natural History in the University of Edinburgh, which chair he held till 1870, when he retired and devoted himself to original work on Zoology. Allman's work on the Hydrozoa is 'the most important systematic work dealing with the group of Coelenterata that has ever been produced'.² He died at the age of eighty-six on November 24, 1898. When Allman was promoted to Edinburgh, his place in the School of Physic was filled by the appointment, in 1856, of William Henry Harvey, M.D., who had been Colonial Treasurer³ in Cape-town from 1836 to 1842. He was chiefly noted for his work on the Algae, and is memorable in the School as the founder of the Herbarium. In 1866 he was succeeded by Alexander Dickson, who in 1868 was appointed Professor of Botany in Glasgow University, and in 1879 transferred to Edinburgh, where he was also Regius Keeper of the Botanic Garden till his death in 1887. Dickson was succeeded in 1869 by Edward Perceval Wright, who in 1858 had been elected Professor of Zoology. Wright held the Chair of Botany till 1904, when he was succeeded by Mr. Henry Horatio Dixon, the present Professor. Though Wright resigned

¹ *D. N. B.*² *Obit. Roy. Soc.*, 1901, p. 14.³ *D. N. B.*

the Professorship in 1904, he continued as keeper of the Herbarium till his death on March 4, 1910. Many graduates of the University remember the kindness of 'Botany Wright', a quality which never seemed to desert him except during the stress of the 'Previous Medical Examination in Botany and Zoology'. His work is so well known and has been so recently described that it is unnecessary to mention it here.

Robert Harrison, who had succeeded Macartney in the Chair of Anatomy and Chirurgery, had previous to his election in Trinity College been Professor of Anatomy and Surgery in the College of Surgeons, and while there had published his works on *The Surgical Anatomy of the Arteries* and *The Dublin Dissector*, both of which had reached a second edition in 1829. These works enjoyed considerable reputation, and the latter continued as the anatomical text-book of the Dublin School for over fifty years. It was also issued as *A Text-book of Anatomy* by Robert Watts, M.D., in New York in 1848, and was the favourite students' manual in the American schools for many years. Professor Macalister, writing of this work, describes it as 'that dreary book compiled from Cruveilhier and Cloquet', and states that the knowledge of the author 'never rose even to the level of his text-book'.¹ Others, however, speak of the book and its writer more highly, and bear testimony to his ability as a teacher. Harrison died suddenly on April 23, 1858, having on the previous day

¹ Macalister, *Macartney*, p. 256.

attended to his duties as usual, and on October 9 the Board elected Benjamin George M'Dowel as his successor.

M'Dowel was perhaps one of the most brilliant men who held the Chair of Anatomy in Trinity College, but he has left little mark on the sands of time to testify to his great abilities. At the time of his appointment to the Professorship he was Physician to the House of Industry Hospitals, having been appointed there on April 13, 1846. Sir Charles Cameron¹ tells us that Chief Justice Doherty had interested himself to obtain an appointment for M'Dowel from the Lord Lieutenant, and by mistake M'Dowel had been gazetted to a lucrative ecclesiastical position. When the mistake was discovered the Lord Lieutenant appointed him to the House of Industry Hospitals instead. As a teacher M'Dowel showed extraordinary ability, but his attendance to his College duties was very irregular. He seems, indeed, to have had an extraordinary facility for forgetting his engagements, and many stories are still current of how his coachman used to insist on his visiting his various patients before he returned home each day. In the School, too, he often completely forgot that he was due to lecture, and many complaints were made to the Board of the neglect of his duties. His extraordinary personality, however, surmounted all difficulties, and no matter how serious the complaint he was always able to give an explanation which seemed to satisfy every

¹ Cameron, *Hist.*, p. 624.

one. With his duties as Professor in the School and Physician to the Whitworth Hospital, together with an exceptionally large private practice, we cannot wonder that his attendance at Sir Patrick Dun's was irregular, and it was this that first caused serious trouble. Previous to the election of M'Dowel for the second septennial period, the Board wished to make it a condition of the election that the Professor would give up private practice. This he would not do, but suggested new regulations for the management of the dissecting room which the Board finally agreed to. On July 16, 1867, the Board decided formally to 'admonish' ¹ the Professor for neglect, but in spite of this, at the opening of the following winter session the dissecting room was found to be wholly unprovided with subjects. As usual, however, a satisfactory explanation was forthcoming and was accepted. On February 1, 1868, the Board passed the resolution already referred to with reference to the Professors holding appointments in hospitals other than Sir Patrick Dun's, and at the same time decided that the University Anatomist was to receive the fees for dissections, and lodge them to the credit of the Bursar, who had undertaken to distribute them.² This latter regulation had been suggested by Haughton, but was strongly objected to by the Professor and the University Anatomist, who complained that they had not been consulted before its adoption. Under the circumstances the Board in the following month

¹ *Reg.*, vol. xii, p. 272.

² *Ibid.*, p. 294.

withdrew the regulation. On May 22, 1869, the Board again requested the Professor to explain his irregularity in attending to his duties in the School, but contented themselves with saying that 'they could not consider his explanation satisfactory'.¹ In the following September the Governors of Sir Patrick Dun's Hospital wrote to the Board complaining of the irregularity of M'Dowel's attendance at the Hospital, and the Board offered to nominate a surgeon to take his place there if the Governors wished. M'Dowel demanded an inquiry, but this demand the Board ignored, and on October 30, 1869, Thomas Evelyn Little was appointed Surgeon to the Hospital in his place.² This matter created considerable stir in Dublin at the time, and much sympathy was felt with M'Dowel. The students held a meeting at which they decided to present him with an address. This, however, was contrary to the Statutes of the College, and the Board would not allow the matter to be proceeded with. On October 24, 1872, the Board decided to appoint a Professor of Comparative Anatomy, who should lecture on that subject instead of the Professor of Anatomy. This new Professor was to attend the dissecting room daily, and besides his salary of £100 a year was to receive half the fees derived from the dissecting room. Two days later Dr. M'Dowel was re-elected Professor of Anatomy, and Edward Hallaran Bennett University Anatomist. The Board wrote to M'Dowel, pointing

¹ *Reg.*, vol. xii, p. 355.

² *Ibid.*, p. 370.

out that it would be necessary for him, in compliance with their resolution, to resign his post as Physician to the Whitworth Hospital. M'Dowel replied by resigning into the hands of the Board the post of Clinical Surgeon to Dun's, but this the Board would not accept, and refused to allow him to be sworn into the Professorship till he resigned his other post. M'Dowel appealed to the Visitors, and the matter came to trial in February 1873, before the Vice-Chancellor, Sir Thomas Napier, and George Battersby, acting for the Archbishop of Dublin. There were two counts in the trial: first, as to the legality of the resolution of the Board calling on M'Dowel to resign his post as Physician to the Whitworth Hospital, and, secondly, as to the power of the Board to divide, as they had done, the fees of the dissecting room. The Visitors decided against the Board on the first count, and in their favour on the second. The Board then resolved that during the present term of office the Professor might continue as Physician to the Whitworth Hospital, but he must also act as Surgeon to Dun's. In 1879, when the term of office was drawing to a close, M'Dowel wrote, stating that if the conditions of appointment for the future were to be the same as they had been he would not seek re-election. The Board replied that the conditions would be the same, and that they accepted his intimation as a resignation of the Professorship. On October 14, 1879, Dr. Alexander Macalister was appointed Professor on the condition that he should not take private

practice, that he should resign all the posts which he held in the College with the exception of the Professorship of Comparative Anatomy, and that he would agree to devote his whole time to his duties in Trinity College. On October 15, 1881, Macalister was 'relieved from duty at Sir Patrick Dun's', and Charles Bent Ball was appointed as his *locum tenens*.¹ Since then the Professor of Anatomy has never been asked to undertake the duties of a clinical lecturer. In 1883 Macalister left Dublin on his appointment to the Professorship of Anatomy in the University of Cambridge, a position which he still adorns. On the resignation of Macalister, Daniel John Cunningham was appointed his successor on September 29, 1883,² and continued in office for twenty years, till in 1903 he was appointed Professor of Anatomy in the University of Edinburgh. The splendid work which Cunningham did for the University and for the School of Physic are well remembered, and the unveiling of a bronze bust of him in the School of Physic will form an important part of the bicentenary celebrations. In 1903 Dr. Andrew Francis Dixon, the present occupant of the chair, succeeded Cunningham.

The office of University Anatomist, which had been in abeyance since the appointment of Cleghorn to the Professorship in 1761, was revived, though not directly in name, by the appointment on May 18, 1861, of Dr. John Kellock Barton as University Lecturer in Practical Anatomy.³ In

¹ *Reg.*, vol. xiv, p. 197.

² *Ibid.*, p. 300.

³ *Ibid.*, vol. xi, p. 445.

1864 Barton resigned this appointment, and on October 29 of that year Edward Hallaran Bennett was, on the nomination of M'Dowel, appointed his successor. In 1865 the office was definitely referred to as that of the University Anatomist, and in the School of Physic Act Amendment Act of 1867 this title is used. Bennett continued as University Anatomist until his appointment as Professor of Surgery on November 8, 1873, when he was succeeded by Thomas Evelyn Little. Little held the post till his death in 1891, when Henry St. John Brooks, Senior Demonstrator, was appointed. Brooks resigned in 1895, and Mr. Charles Bent Ball was appointed. With this latter appointment all functions of the University Anatomist, except the surgeoncy to Dun's Hospital, disappeared, and since that time the Professor of Anatomy has had the undivided control of the Anatomical Department.

With regard to the Chair of Surgery, there is little to add to what has already been told. On March 3, 1849, the Board decided to establish a Professorship of Surgery, and on October 13 Robert William Smith was elected.¹ Smith was a prolific writer, and his works on *Fractures in the vicinity of Joints*² and *Neuroma*³ are still consulted with profit. He died on October 28, 1873, and early in the following November, Edward Hallaran Bennett, the University Anatomist, was appointed as his successor. It is to

¹ *Statutes T. C. D.*, vol. ii, p. 231.

² Dublin, 1847.

³ *Ibid.*, 1849.

his exertions that the University owes the splendid museum of surgical pathology in which is preserved one of the finest collections of fractures to be seen in the kingdom. In 1904 failing health compelled Bennett to ask for help in the delivery of his lectures, and Mr. Edward H. Taylor was appointed his deputy. On Bennett's resignation in 1906 Taylor succeeded to the chair. Bennett died on June 21, 1907.

On January 24, 1852, the Board decided to create a new Professorship of Surgery, to be called the University Professorship of Surgery. The first Professor was James William Cusack. His duties were mainly connected with the examinations in Surgery, and he never seems to have been called on to lecture. Cusack died on September 25, 1861, and on October 26 following Robert Adams was appointed. By a Queen's letter dated September 8, 1868, this Professorship was raised to the same rank as the Regius Professorship of Medicine, and Adams was nominated the first Regius Professor. He died on January 16, 1875, and in the following March William Colles, son of the more distinguished Abraham Colles, was elected. In 1891 William Porter succeeded Colles, and in 1895 was in turn succeeded by the present Regius Professor and University Anatomist, Sir Charles Bent Ball.

After the opening of beds in Dun's Hospital for the treatment of surgical patients, Haughton suggested to the Board that they should appoint a special teacher in Surgery at the Hospital. He

had at the same time succeeded in inducing Richard George Butcher, then Surgeon to Mercer's Hospital, to offer himself as a candidate for the post. Butcher was at the time one of the leading surgeons in Dublin, having been in 1866 elected President of the Royal College of Surgeons. On February 29, 1868, the Board appointed him 'teacher in operative and practical surgery at Sir Patrick Dun's Hospital' at a salary of £100 per annum.¹ This position he continued to hold till 1884, but, though appointed by the Board, his duties were confined to the teaching at Dun's Hospital, and he did not lecture in the School of Physic.

¹ *Reg.*, vol. xiv, p. 299.

CHAPTER XVII

MODERN DEVELOPMENT

DURING the past twenty years the course of the School has been one of steady progress in all departments. The buildings erected in the time of Macartney have been almost entirely replaced, there being only a small portion of his School left, at present occupied by the Bone Room and part of the Chemical Laboratories. As early as February 20, 1864, the Board decided to procure estimates for new buildings to provide additional accommodation for teaching Anatomy, and in June following £700 was voted for this purpose. This sum was added to in October in order to provide for a porch and additional lighting and heating.

On April 7, 1866, the College Architect, Mr. M'Curdy, was directed to prepare plans and estimates for new buildings in connexion with the School of Chemistry. In December 1873, the Board approved the plans for the new Anatomical Museum,¹ which was to be erected between the Park and the Medical School buildings, and on January 16, 1874, a sum of £500 was voted to buy the osteological collection of Robert Smith, late Professor of Surgery, for this museum.² On

¹ *Reg.*, vol. xiii, p. 153.

² *Ibid.*, p. 160.

March 28, 1874, an estimate of £8,300 was accepted from Messrs. W. & A. Roberts for this building. These contractors, however, afterwards declined to undertake the contract, and in the following May it was given to Thomas Pemberton, of East Hanover Street,¹ the sum being fixed at £8,276, the contractor agreeing to a fine of £25 a week if the building were not finished within two years. This contract was subsequently amended, the sum being fixed at £8,386, and on October 12, 1876, it was reported that the museum was 'completed and ready for occupation', the builders being stated to be Messrs. J. & W. Beckett.² This handsome building, looking west, with a frontage of 150 feet, and a depth of 42 feet, is one of the most ornamental of the School buildings. In it are lodged the Zoological collections, and it also contains rooms for the Professor of Comparative Anatomy and Zoology. At the northern end of the building is the Anthropometric Laboratory, fitted up some years later by means of a grant from the Royal Irish Academy. Running eastward, at a right angle to the northern extremity of the museum, is the laboratory for Histology, built in the year 1880. Originally this building was separated from the museum, but a few years ago the two were joined by a new building, and an entrance to the lecture-room opened through the door at the north end of the museum.

In 1885 the Board embarked on a most extensive scheme for increasing the accommodation in

¹ *Reg.*, vol. xiii, p. 178.

² *Ibid.*, p. 324.

the Medical School, and on 19th September of that year accepted the estimate of George Moyers for new buildings at the cost of £9,050.¹ The plans for these buildings were made by Mr. M'Curdy, the College Architect, but on his death in the following year the supervision of the work was entrusted to Mr. Thomas Drew. The plans and estimates were subsequently modified in various ways, chiefly with a view to enlarging and improving the dissecting-room. The old wall, which had shut off the Medical School from the College Park since the time of Macartney, was removed by an order of the Board on October 29, 1887, and on November 1, Professor Haughton delivered in the Chemical Theatre an address in honour of the formal opening of the new buildings. Beside an almost complete renovation of the apartments for Anatomy and Chemistry, the new buildings contained on the ground floor rooms for the Professors and Registrar, as well as two rooms for the students. The second floor was occupied by two new lecture theatres, and a laboratory and museum for the Professor of Materia Medica. On the top story were placed the rooms of the Professor of Surgery, as well as the museum of Surgical Pathology.

In 1895 the School buildings were again added to, the Board, on November 23, accepting an estimate for building a Pathological laboratory at the cost of £9,000. The Medical School Committee had suggested that the old Physiology laboratory

¹ *Reg.*, vol. xv, p. 8.

should be devoted to Pathology and a new laboratory built for Physiology, but this suggestion was not adopted.

In 1903 an appeal was issued by the heads of the University asking for subscriptions to erect and to equip Science laboratories in Trinity College. A very liberal response was made, and Lord Iveagh, a graduate of the University, and now Chancellor, undertook to provide funds to build and to furnish all or any of those laboratories for the endowment of which the friends of the College subscribed the necessary funds. As a result of this generous offer the new Physics laboratory was erected in 1905, at a cost of £16,500, and two years later the new Botanical laboratory was completed at a cost of £8,000. These two laboratories form a notable addition to the Medical School buildings, and afford the accommodation so much needed for the development of research work in these subjects. Beside this valuable asset which the College obtained in these new buildings a sum of nearly £19,000 was subscribed as an endowment fund, the interest on which is to be spent annually on these departments.¹

While the housing of the School was being thus cared for, close attention was also paid to what was more important, the development of its teaching functions. In 1895 Mr. Alexander Charles O'Sullivan, one of the Fellows of Trinity College, was appointed Lecturer in Pathology, and the department over which he presides is now one of

¹ *B. M. Journ.*, October 26, 1907.

the most important in the School. The establishment of a School of Tropical Medicine in connexion with this department is at present under consideration, and it is hoped that in the near future facilities will be afforded in the School for the study of this important branch of medicine.

In June 1903, the Senate of the University decided by a large majority to admit women to Trinity College, and in the winter session, 1904-5, the first woman student entered for the medical classes in the School of Physic. The Board provided a special dissecting-room for women, but they were admitted to the same lectures with the men students. In spite of many prophecies to the contrary the plan has worked well, and though the women students are not yet numerous, the numbers are increasing year by year, and are likely to increase more quickly in the future.

As early as 1888 the School authorities began to recognize the claims of dental students, but for many years there were no applicants for a licence in dentistry from the University. In 1904 the Board decided to establish degrees in this subject open to those students who had graduated in Arts. In 1910 a complete dental school was established, and special lecturers have been appointed by the Board, to teach those subjects not already included in the medical curriculum.

One of the most important features of the School at the present day is the students' society, the Dublin University Biological Association. We have seen that as early as May 2, 1801, the Board

decided, 'that a medical society under the control of the Board may be permitted to meet in the College.'¹ I have not been able to trace any records of the work or constitution of this society, and do not know how long it continued in existence. Shortly after Macartney was appointed Professor of Anatomy the Board again extended privileges to a medical society, and on November 26, 1814, the following minute was made :—' A Society for Medical Students (under the sanction of the Professor) having applied for permission to hold their meetings in the Lecture Room in No. 22. The Terms were granted to them during pleasure.'² On January 18, 1822, this permission was withdrawn, though in the minutes no reason is assigned for the change.³ In spite of this decision of the Board the society seems to have lived some years longer. Dr. Macalister⁴ tells us that it continued in active existence for fourteen years, and only gradually died out during the troubles which came on Macartney during the later years of his professorship. There is, however, no further mention of the society in the Register of the Board. In January 1853, Robert Ball, then Curator of the Zoological Museum, founded in Trinity College, under the patronage of the Provost and Senior Fellows, a society which was originally restricted to the study of Zoology. Shortly afterwards its scope was enlarged, and it was called the ' Dublin University Zoological and Botanical Association '.

¹ *Reg.*, vol. v, p. 371.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 336.

² *Reg.*, vol. vi, p. 144.

⁴ Macalister, *Macartney*, p. 104.

The object of this society was 'the advancement and diffusion of Zoological and Botanical Science in general, and to encourage and promote the study of Natural History among the Students of the University'.¹ The ordinary members were to be graduates of Dublin, Oxford, or Cambridge, and undergraduates of Trinity College who had their names on the College books. The subscription for members over the standing of M.A. was £1, and for others half a guinea a year. The meetings were to be held on the third Friday of each month during term in the rooms of the Association in No. 5, Trinity College. This society can scarcely be looked on as a revival of the Medical Students' Society of 1814. It was really a new society, and though its membership roll contained the names of some undergraduates, they were very few as compared with the graduates. Most of the papers, too, were read by graduates. In 1859 the association published the first and only volume of its Proceedings, an octavo volume of some three hundred pages, 'with thirty-one lithographic Plates'. Of the sixty-six ordinary members on the roll in 1859, seven only were undergraduates, and nineteen were medical men.

William Stokes, Regius Professor of Medicine, delivered an opening address to this Association on January 24, 1862, in which he gives a most interesting history of the study of natural science in the University.² The Association does not seem to have flourished, and no further volumes

¹ Rules, 1859.

² *Medical Press*, March 26, 1862.

of Proceedings were published. On November 9, 1867, 'Dr. Haughton recommended that the Board would accede to the request of the Medical Students to be permitted to meet for the discussion of Medical Questions', which recommendation the Board agreed to, 'the regulation of such meetings to be previously submitted to the Board for their approbation.'¹ A week later, on the application of Dr. Bennett, the Board granted the sum of £50 to the medical library. Subsequently the Board made a similar grant to this library, but on January 26, 1878, they ordered the reading-room to be closed on account of some misuse of it by the students.² In December 1879, the room was again opened to the students on the application of Professor Bennett.

Four societies devoted to the study of Medicine had long existed in Dublin, of which the oldest was the Surgical Society established by the College of Surgeons in 1831. The Medical Society of the College of Physicians was originally started in 1816, but after a time it came to an end, and was not revived till 1864. The Pathological and Obstetrical Societies were both established in 1838, and to the former of these students were admitted.

On January 6, 1872, a number of men met together in No. 30, Trinity College, and decided to form a scientific club. This, the Biological Club, contained on its membership roll the names of several men intimately connected with the School

¹ *Reg.*, vol. xii, p. 280.

² *Reg.*, vol. xiv, p. 5.

of Physic. For three sessions this Club met in the College, and then moved to a room in Brunswick Street, where it continued to meet till, in December 1881, it moved to its present quarters in the Royal College of Physicians.¹

On March 14, 1874, the Board granted permission to the University Medical Society to meet on alternate Wednesdays in one of the lecture-rooms of the new building, 'provided that Dr. Bennett becomes responsible for the proper use of the room.'² It is from the permission thus granted that the Dublin University Biological Association dates its birth, or as the early notices state, 'this Society was established in 1874 to encourage the study of Biology in all its Branches.'³ From the very beginning this was essentially a students' association, the subscription being fixed at the modest sum of 5s. a year. The early records of the Association have disappeared, and consequently it is not possible to give its history in detail. In 1876 Samuel Haughton was President, and in the following year he was succeeded by Dr. Alexander Macalister, who held office for four years, and under his fostering care the Association developed considerably. Later, between the years 1890 and 1892, the Association declined greatly, and in the latter year it seemed doomed to immediate extinction. From that year on, however, its fortunes began to mend and now the average attendance at its meetings exceeds that of any other society in the College.

¹ Foot.

² *Reg.*, vol. xiv, p. 170.

³ *Medical Directory*.

The prizes for students in the School of Physic are neither so numerous nor so valuable as one could wish. On October 20, 1860, the Board resolved to establish two medical Scholarships, 'tenable for two years with a Salary of £20 per annum'.¹ They were to be awarded at the examination held at the end of the second year of medical study, on the condition that the scholars proceeded regularly with their medical studies in the University. The subjects of this examination were Anatomy and Physiology; Botany and Materia Medica; Chemistry, Theoretical and Practical, with Chemical Physics. It was later decided that the candidates for these prizes must be at least of Senior Freshman standing, and have kept one *annus medicus* in the School of Physic. In March 1880 the regulations were modified, one Scholarship being given for Physics, Chemistry, Botany, and Materia Medica, and the other for Anatomy and the Institutes of Medicine. In 1884 Comparative Anatomy took the place of Materia Medica, to give place in turn in 1893 to Zoology. At the present time students may not compete for the Scholarship in Anatomy and the Institutes of Medicine after the completion of their third year, or for the other Scholarship after the completion of their second year, and no student may hold the two Scholarships at the same time.

In 1884 a sum of money was bequeathed to the College by Henry Hutchinson Stewart to found Scholarships in Literature and Medicine. These

¹ *Reg.*, vol. xi, p. 420.

Scholarships of the value of £10 per annum are awarded from time to time to the second best answerers in the Medical Scholarship Examination. A Scholarship in Mental Disease of the value of about £50 per annum, tenable for three years, is also awarded from this fund from time to time. A bronze medal, founded by the past pupils of John Mallet Purser, in commemoration of his twenty-five years' tenure of the Professorship of the Institutes of Medicine, is awarded annually to the student who obtains the highest marks in Physiology and Histology at part one of the Intermediate Medical Examination held in June. A similar medal, founded as a memorial of the late Professor Daniel John Cunningham, is awarded under similar conditions to the candidate who obtains the highest marks in Anatomy.

On March 20, 1869, the Board decided to award two prizes of £50 each, 'one to the best answerer in practical medicine, and the other to the best answerer in practical surgery.'¹ By this resolution the Board founded the two most important prizes in the School, the Medical and Surgical Travelling Prizes. In 1878 these two prizes were joined together, one prize of £100 being awarded each year, alternately in Medicine and Surgery.² The winner of this prize must spend three months in the study of Medicine or Surgery in Berlin, Paris, or Vienna, and must satisfy the Senior Lecturer that he 'possesses sufficient knowledge

¹ *Reg.*, vol. xii, p. 345.

Reg., vol. xiv, p. 6.

of a Continental Language to derive benefit from same'.¹

In connexion with the Travelling Prizes two medals were founded in 1907. The Banks Medal, founded by Sir John Thomas Banks, formerly King's Professor of Medicine, and for eighteen years Regius Professor of Medicine, is awarded to the winner of the Medical Travelling Prize, a sum of £15 being given to the second best candidate. The Edward Hallaran Bennett Medal was founded by the past pupils of Professor Bennett, who was for nine years University Anatomist and for thirty-three years Professor of Surgery. This medal is awarded to the winner of the Surgical Travelling Prize, a money prize being given to the second best candidate.

In 1892 Mrs. Fitzpatrick presented to the Board the sum of £1,000 to found a Scholarship in the Medical School in memory of her husband, Thomas Fitzpatrick, M.D. The interest derived from this sum is given as a prize annually to the student who obtains the highest aggregate marks at Part II of the Intermediate, and Parts I and II of the final examination. This Scholarship has been awarded regularly since 1902.

In 1905 the Board received the bequest of William Chapman Begley and Mrs. Jane Begley, amounting to £5,655 11s. 8d., for the endowment of four Medical Studentships. The sum available from this bequest is about £148 per annum, and the Studentships are open to all Undergraduates

¹ *Reg.*, vol. xiv, p. 298.

who have completed the final examination of their Senior Freshman year, irrespective of the time at which they entered the Medical School.

It is a matter of much regret that there are no Scholarships for endowing research work in the School of Physic, and it is to be hoped that some prizes of this kind may be founded in the near future. In no way is the vitality of the Medical School more surely gauged than by the quantity and quality of the original work done in its laboratories.

While the College was lavishly spending money for the housing of the School of Physic it was at the same time assuming more and more control of its affairs. Prior to the passing of the School of Physic Act Amendment Act in 1867, the advertisements of the School Lectures were paid for out of Dun's estate, and the notices published annually were signed by the Registrar of the College of Physicians. That Act, however, contained no permission for such expenditure, and the College of Physicians ceased to issue the School notices. Subsequently these were issued by Trinity College, and from 1875 were signed by the Registrar of the Medical School, an officer appointed by Trinity College. At the same time the internal management of the School passed more and more into the hands of the members of the Medical School Committee, who were responsible to the Board but not to the College of Physicians.

On February 4, 1888, the Board decided that in future Medical Jurisprudence should be taught in

the School by a Lecturer appointed by the Board.¹ On the death of Robert Travers, who had held the chair since 1864, Dr. Henry Theodore Bewley was, on April 7, 1888, elected the first University Lecturer in that subject. In this arrangement the College of Physicians fully acquiesced.

The establishment by the Colleges of Physicians and Surgeons in 1886 of the Conjoint Board for the purpose of examining students seeking registration in virtue of the licences of the Colleges, gave to the College of Physicians a greater interest in the School of the College of Surgeons than in the School of Physic. Thus in the course of development the functions of the College of Physicians in the School of Physic have one by one lapsed into the hands of the University authorities, and the School has almost become, in everything except in name, the Medical School of Trinity College. The change has been effected so gradually and so naturally that it has produced no resentment among those thus deprived of their authority, and the relations between the Colleges are now as cordial as they have been at any time during their long connexion. Whatever changes the future may bring forth, it is to be hoped that these friendly relations will continue, and that these great corporations will continue to work harmoniously for the advancement of Science and for the welfare of their country.

¹ *Reg.*, vol. xv, p. 177.

APPENDIX I

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APPENDIX II

THE MEDICAL STAFF OF TRINITY COLLEGE AND OF THE SCHOOL OF PHYSIC IN IRELAND

'MEDICUS'.

John Temple, M.A. Elected October 24, 1618.

Thomas Beere, M.A. Elected December 6, 1620.

John Stearne, M.D. President of the College of Physicians.

Elected Fellow October 22, 1651. Resigned November 17, 1659. Reappointed by King's Letter, December 29, 1660.

Not mentioned as 'Medicus', but given the privileges.

George Walker. Elected November 25, 1669. Died 1670.

William Palliser, D.D. Elected October 29, 1670.

George Mercer, M.D. Fellow of College of Physicians.

Elected September 9, 1671. Vice-Provost. Dispossessed of Fellowship on account of marriage, June 8, 1687.

Owen Lloyd. Elected June 10, 1687.

Jeremiah Allen, M.A. Election as 'Medicus' not given, but it is stated on September 18, 1688, that Mr. Allen 'resigned the place of Medicus'.

Arthur Blennerhassett, B.D. Elected September 18, 1688.

Died July 4, 1696.

William Carr, M.B. Fellow of College of Physicians. Elected

May 12, 1693. Died January 16, 1698/9.

John Dennis, D.D. Elected January 21, 1698/9. Resigned

June 8, 1700.

Anthony Raymond, D.D. Elected June 8, 1700. Resigned

1702.

William Lloyd, D.D. Election not stated, probably 1702.

Resigned 'Medicus' January 28, 1706/7.

Richard Helsham, M.D. Fellow of College of Physicians.

Elected January 28, 1706/7. Resigned January 16, 1729/30.

350 MEDICAL STAFF OF TRINITY COLLEGE

- Edward Hudson, B.D.** Elected January 26, 1729/30. Resigned February 8, 1730/1.
- Edward Molloy, M.A.** Elected February 8, 1730/1. Resigned May 28, 1733.
- William Clements, M.D., Vice-Provost.** Elected May 28, 1733. Died January 15, 1782.
- Whitley Stokes, M.D.** Hon. Fellow of College of Physicians. Elected July 18, 1789. Resigned June 22, 1816.
- John Toleken, M.D.** Elected July 1, 1837. Resigned May 1, 1880. Died December 13, 1887.

REGIUS PROFESSORS OF PHYSIC

- John Stearne, M.D., President of the College of Physicians.** Elected November 24, 1656. Resigned November 17, 1659. Re-elected June 3, 1662. Died November 18, 1669.
- Thomas Margetson, M.D., Fellow of the College of Physicians.** Elected successor to Stearne, but date not recorded. Died 1674.
- Ralph Howard, M.D., Fellow of College of Physicians.** Elected April 2, 1674. Died 1710.
- Richard Steevens, M.D., Fellow of College of Physicians.** Elected September 19, 1710. Died December 15, 1710.
- Thomas Molyneux, M.D., Fellow of College of Physicians.** Elected January 22, 1711. Died October 19, 1733.
- Richard Helsham, M.D., Fellow of Trinity College and of College of Physicians.** Elected November 10, 1733. Died August, 1738.
- Henry Cope, M.D., Fellow of College of Physicians.** Elected successor to Helsham, date not recorded. Died January, 1742/3.
- Francis Foreside, M.D., Fellow of College of Physicians.** Elected February 2, 1742/3. Died 1745.
- Bryan Robinson, M.D., Fellow of College of Physicians.** Elected June 12, 1745. Died January, 1754.
- Edward Barry, M.D., Fellow of College of Physicians.** Elected January 28, 1754. Resigned February 12, 1761.

AND SCHOOL OF PHYSIC IN IRELAND 351

William Clements, M.D., Vice-Provost of Trinity College and Fellow of College of Physicians. Elected February 21, 1761. Resigned November 15, 1781.

Edward Hill, M.D., Fellow of College of Physicians. Elected November 15, 1781. Died October 31, 1830.

Whitley Stokes, M.D., Fellow of Trinity College and Hon. Fellow of College of Physicians. Elected November 13, 1830. Resigned October 12, 1840.

William Stokes, M.D., Fellow of College of Physicians. Elected October 12, 1840. Died January 6, 1878.

Alfred Hudson, M.D., Fellow of College of Physicians. Elected February 16, 1878. Resigned September 29, 1880.

John Thomas Banks, M.D., Fellow of College of Physicians. Elected November 13, 1880. Resigned October 15, 1898.

James Little, M.D., Fellow of College of Physicians. Elected December 16, 1898.

REGIUS PROFESSORS OF SURGERY

James William Cusack, M.D. Elected January 24, 1852. Died September 25, 1861.

Robert Adams, M.D. Elected October 26, 1861. Died January 16, 1875.¹

William Colles, M.D. Elected March 6, 1875. Resigned April 18, 1891.

George Hornidge Porter, M.D. Elected October 14, 1891. Died June 16, 1895.

Charles Bent Ball, M.D. Elected November 20, 1895.

LECTURERS IN ANATOMY AND CHIRURGERY

Richard Hoyle, M.D., Fellow of College of Physicians. Elected August 1711. Discontinued 1716.

Bryan Robinson, M.D., Fellow of College of Physicians. Elected September 8, 1716. Dismissed June 17, 1717.

Richard Hoyle, M.D. Re-elected June 17, 1717. Died August 1730.

¹ The Professorship was raised to the dignity of Regius by Letters Patent dated September 29, 1868.

352 MEDICAL STAFF OF TRINITY COLLEGE

- Thomas Madden, M.D.**, Fellow of College of Physicians.
Elected October 1, 1730. Probably died 1734.
- Francis Foreside, M.D.**, Fellow of the College of Physicians.
Elected May 21, 1734. Resigned January 11, 1741/2.
- Robert Robinson, M.D.**, Fellow of College of Physicians.
Elected January 16, 1741/2. Dismissed June 29, 1761.
- George Cleghorn, M.D.**, Hon. Fellow of College of Physicians.
Elected June 29, 1761. Continued Professor by Act 25, Geo. III, 1785.

PROFESSORS OF ANATOMY AND CHIRURGERY

- George Cleghorn, M.D.** Elected Lecturer June 29, 1761, created Professor by Act 25, Geo. III, 1785. Died December 22, 1789.
- James Cleghorn, M.D.**, Fellow of College of Physicians.
Elected April 16, 1790. Resigned July 24, 1802.
- William Hartigan, M.D.** Elected November 6, 1802. Died December 15, 1812.
- James Macartney, M.D.** Elected June 21, 1813. Resigned July 13, 1837.
- Robert Harrison, M.D.** Elected October 24, 1837. Died April 23, 1858.
- Benjamin George McDowel, M.D.** Elected October 8, 1858. Resigned June 22, 1879.
- Alexander Macalister, M.D.** Elected October 14, 1879. Resigned June 16, 1883.
- Daniel John Cunningham, M.D.** Elected September 29, 1883. Resigned February 14, 1903.
- Andrew Francis Dixon, Sc.D.** Elected June 20, 1903.

UNIVERSITY ANATOMISTS

- William Green, Surgeon.** Elected September 8, 1716. Died 1732/3.
- Vessy Shaw, Surgeon.** Elected October 22, 1733. Resigned June 14, 1743.
- George Whittingham, Surgeon.** Elected June 14, 1743. Resigned September 10, 1753.

AND SCHOOL OF PHYSIC IN IRELAND 353

George Cleghorn, M.D. Elected September 10, 1753. Resigned on appointment as Lecturer in Anatomy June 29, 1761.

John Kellock Barton, M.D. Elected May 18, 1861. Resigned October 22, 1864.

Edward Hallaran Bennett, M.D. Elected October 29, 1864. Resigned on election as Professor of Surgery November 8, 1873.

Thomas Evelyn Little, M.D. Elected November 15, 1873. Died November 1891.

Henry St. John Brooks, M.D. Elected November 14, 1891. Resigned March 31, 1895.

Charles Bent Ball, M.D. Elected April 19, 1895.

LECTURERS IN CHEMISTRY

Robert Griffith, M.D., Fellow of College of Physicians. Elected August 1711. Vacated on appointment as Dun's Professor of Medicine August 29, 1717.

William Smith, M.D., Fellow of College of Physicians. Elected December 17, 1717. Died 1732.

William Stephens, M.D., Fellow of College of Physicians. Elected February 17, 1732/3. Died 1760.

Francis Hutcheson, M.D., Fellow of College of Physicians. Elected July 12, 1760. Resigned November 3, 1767.

James Span, M.D., Fellow of College of Physicians. Elected November 12, 1767. Died 1773.

James Thornton, M.D., Fellow of College of Physicians. Elected September 25, 1773. Died May 17, 1783.

Robert Perceval, M.D., Fellow of College of Physicians. Elected May 17, 1783. Continued as Professor by Act 25, Geo. III, 1785.

PROFESSORS OF CHEMISTRY

Robert Perceval, M.D. Elected Lecturer May 17, 1783, and continued as Professor by Act 25, Geo. III, 1785. Resigned February 6, 1809.

Francis Barker, M.D., Fellow of College of Physicians. Elected May 16, 1809. Superannuated February 4, 1850.

354 MEDICAL STAFF OF TRINITY COLLEGE

James Apjohn, M.D., Fellow of College of Physicians. Elected June 8, 1850. Resigned October 3, 1874.

James Emerson Reynolds, M.D. Elected February 6, 1875. Resigned June 18, 1903.

Sydney Young, Sc.D. Elected October 20, 1903.

LECTURERS IN BOTANY

Henry Nicholson, M.D. Elected August 1711. Probably died 1732/3.

Charles Chemeys, or Kemeys, M.D., Fellow of College of Physicians. Elected March 4, 1732/3. Probably died same year.

William Clements, M.D., Vice-Provost. Elected September 13, 1733. Resigned 1763.

James Span, M.D., Fellow of College of Physicians. Elected February 12, 1763. Died 1773.

Edward Hill, M.D., Fellow of College of Physicians. Elected September 25, 1773. Continued as Professor by Act 25, Geo. III, 1785.

PROFESSORS OF BOTANY

Edward Hill, M.D. Continued as Professor by Act 25, Geo. III, 1785. Resigned August 11, 1800.

Robert Scott, M.D. Elected November 24, 1800. Died 1808.

William Allman, M.D., Hon. Fellow of College of Physicians. Elected January 16, 1809. Superannuated March 4, 1844.

George James Allman, M.D. Elected March 26, 1844. Resigned on appointment to Edinburgh January 1856.

William Henry Harvey, M.D. Elected May 3, 1856. Died May 15, 1866.

Alexander Dickson, M.D. Elected December 22, 1866. Resigned on appointment as Professor at Glasgow 1868.

Edward Perceval Wright, M.D. Elected January 23, 1869. Resigned 1904.

Henry Horatio Dixon, Sc.D. Elected April 16, 1904.

PROFESSORS OF SURGERY

Robert William Smith, M.D. Elected October 13, 1849. Died October 28, 1873.

Edward Hallaran Bennett, M.D. Elected November 8, 1873. Resigned active work October 29, 1904. Died June 21, 1907.

Edward Henry Taylor, M.D. Elected December 1, 1906. He had been elected Deputy for Professor October 29, 1904.

LECTURERS IN ZOOLOGY

Robert Harrison, M.D. Elected November 29, 1856. Died April 23, 1858.

Edward Perceval Wright, M.D. Elected March 7, 1868. Resigned on appointment as Professor of Botany, January 6, 1869.

Alexander Macalister, M.D. Elected July 3, 1869.¹

William Henry Mackintosh, M.A. Elected November 29, 1879.

PROFESSORS OF COMPARATIVE ANATOMY

Alexander Macalister, M.D. Elected January 11, 1872. Resigned June 16, 1883.

William Henry Mackintosh, M.A. Elected December 22, 1883. Continued as Professor of Zoology and Comparative Anatomy.

PROFESSOR OF ZOOLOGY AND COMPARATIVE ANATOMY²

William Henry Mackintosh, M.A. Elected March 13, 1895.

¹ On December 9, 1871, this Lectureship was raised to the rank of a Professorship.

² The Professorships of Zoology and Comparative Anatomy were united into one Professorship by a Decree of the Board on March 13, 1895.

LECTURERS IN MEDICAL JURISPRUDENCE

- Thomas Brady**, Fellow of College of Physicians. Elected July 22, 1839. Died March 16, 1864.
Robert Travers, M.D., Fellow of College of Physicians. Elected April 1, 1864. Died 1888.
Henry Theodore Bewley, M.D., Fellow of College of Physicians. Elected April 7, 1888.¹

LECTURER IN PATHOLOGY

- Alexander Charles O'Sullivan**, M.D., Fellow of Trinity College and the College of Physicians. Elected June 22, 1895.

KING'S PROFESSORS

PROFESSORS OF THE PRACTICE OF MEDICINE

- Robert Griffith**, M.D., Fellow of College of Physicians. Elected August 29, 1717. Died 1719.
James Grattan, M.D., Fellow of College of Physicians. Elected 1719. Died 1747.
Henry Quin, M.D., Fellow of College of Physicians. Elected November 4, 1749. Died February 11, 1791.
Edward Brereton, M.D., Fellow of College of Physicians. Elected April 5, 1786. Died December 10, 1791.
Stephen Dickson, M.D., Fellow of College of Physicians. Elected April 13, 1792. Deprived after being 'admonished' December 4, 1797.
Whitley Stokes, M.D., Fellow of Trinity College and Hon. Fellow of College of Physicians. Elected February 8, 1798. Discontinued October 28, 1811.
Martin Tuomy, M.D., Fellow of College of Physicians. Elected February 6, 1812. Discontinued May 5, 1828.
Richard Grattan, M.D., Fellow of College of Physicians. Elected June 10, 1828. Discontinued by Visitors December 16, 1828.

¹ Both Dr. Brady and Dr. Travers were elected by the College of Physicians, Dr. Bewley by the Board of Trinity College.

John James Leahy, M.D., Fellow of College of Physicians.
Elected May 26, 1829. Died September 1832.

Charles Richard Alexander Lendrick, M.D., Fellow of College
of Physicians. Elected December 18, 1832. Died 1841.

George Greene, M.D., Fellow of College of Physicians. Elected
October 7, 1841. Died April 2, 1846.

John Creery Ferguson, M.B., Fellow of College of Physicians.
Elected July 23, 1846. Resigned on appointment as Pro-
fessor of Medicine to the Queen's College, Belfast, 1849.

John Thomas Banks, M.D., Fellow of College of Physicians.
Elected December 14, 1849. Resigned April 13, 1868.

William Moore, M.D., Fellow of College of Physicians. Elected
July 24, 1868. Resigned April 28, 1882.

John Magee Finny, M.D., Fellow of College of Physicians.
Elected July 7, 1882. Resigned July 8, 1910.

James Craig, M.D., Fellow of College of Physicians. Elected
July 8, 1910.

PROFESSORS OF THE INSTITUTES OF MEDICINE

Stephen Dickson, M.D., Fellow of College of Physicians.
Elected April 5, 1786. Resigned March 27, 1792.

John William Boyton, M.D., Fellow of College of Physicians.
Elected July 10, 1792. Died 1826.

William Stack, M.D., Fellow of College of Physicians. Elected
October 17, 1826. Died 1827.

Robert James Graves, M.D., Fellow of College of Physicians.
Elected October 2, 1827. Resigned February 6, 1841.

Robert Law, M.D., Fellow of College of Physicians. Elected
October 12, 1841. Resigned November 1873.

John Mallet Purser, M.D., Fellow of College of Physicians.
Elected February 13, 1874. Resigned September 27, 1901.

William Henry Thompson, M.D. Elected January 10, 1902.

PROFESSORS OF MATERIA MEDICA AND PHARMACY

Constantine Barbor, M.D., Fellow of College of Physicians.
Elected November 4, 1749. Died March 13, 1783.

358 MEDICAL STAFF OF TRINITY COLLEGE

- Edmund Cullen**, M.D., Fellow of College of Physicians. Elected April 5, 1786. Died 1804.
- John Crampton**, M.D., Fellow of College of Physicians. Elected July 21, 1804. Died 1840.
- Jonathan Osborne**, M.D., Fellow of College of Physicians. Elected October 13, 1840. Died January 23, 1864.
- Aquilla Smith**, M.D., Fellow of College of Physicians. Elected May 14, 1864. Resigned July 1, 1881.
- Walter George Smith**, M.D., Fellow of College of Physicians. Elected October 18, 1881.

PROFESSOR OF CHIRURGERY AND MIDWIFERY

- Nathaniel Barry**, M.D., Fellow of College of Physicians. Elected November 4, 1749. Died March 1785.

PROFESSORS OF MIDWIFERY

- William Fetherston-H. Montgomery**, M.D., Fellow of College of Physicians. Elected October 18, 1827. Resigned October 4, 1856.
- Fleetwood Churchill**, M.D., Fellow of College of Physicians. Elected November 5, 1856. Resigned July 29, 1864.
- Edward Burrowes Sinclair**, M.D., Fellow of College of Physicians. Elected July 29, 1864. Died March 24, 1882.¹
- John Rutherford Kirkpatrick**, M.D., Fellow of College of Physicians. Elected July 7, 1882. Died April 16, 1889.
- Arthur Vernon Macan**, M.A.O., Fellow of College of Physicians. Elected July 24, 1889. Died September 26, 1908.
- Henry Jellett**, M.D., Fellow of College of Physicians. Elected October 18, 1909. Resigned December 2, 1910.
- Henry Thomas Wilson**, Fellow of College of Physicians. Elected March 10, 1911.

¹ By Act of Parliament in 1867 this Professorship was raised to the rank of a King's Professorship.

INDEX

Heavier type denotes the pages on which biographical notices appear.

- Acton, Richard, 64.
 Adams, Robert, 289, 324, 351.
 Allen, Jeremy, 63, 64.
 Allman, Wm., 210, 224, 256, 275, 316, 354.
 — George J., 275, 276, 354.
 — Wm. James, 316.
 Altamont, Earl of, 189, 191.
 Anatomical material, the procuring of, 244-247.
 — Museum, new building, 326, 327.
 Anderson, John, 105, 106.
 Andrews, Francis, 119.
 Anthropometric Laboratory, 327.
 Apjohn, James, 296, 305, 315, 354.
 Archer, John, 44.
 Baldwin, Richard, 105, 106, 119.
 Ball, Robert, 243, 276, 331.
 — Sir Charles B., 277, 322-324, 351, 353.
 Banks, Sir John T., 309, 310, 312, 313, 337, 351, 357.
 Barber - Surgeons in Dublin, Guild of, 14.
 Barbor, Constantine, 105-107, 115, 116, 149, 155, 156, 160, 177, 357.
 Barker, Francis, 211-213, 224, 258, 314, 316, 353.
 Barry, Sir Edward, 111, 112, 114, 115, 123, 127, 128, 350.
 — Matthew, 45.
 — Sir Nathaniel, 105-107, 114, 115, 116, 154-156, 177, 358.
 Barton, John, Dean of Armagh, 65, 66.
 — John K., 322, 323, 353.
 Battersby, George, 321.
 Beatty, Dr., 129.
 Bedell, Wm., D.D., 22, 23, 27-29, 31.
 Bedford, Duke of, 135.
 Beere, Thomas, 25, 49, 349.
 Begley, Wm. C., 337.
 — Mrs. Jane, 337.
 Belcher, Dr., 73.
 Bell, John, 127.
 Bennett, Edward H., 320, 323, 324, 333, 334, 337, 353, 355.
 Beresford, Lord Primate, 289.
 Berkeley, Bishop, 79, 129.
 Bernardus de Gordon, 12, 16.
 Bewley, Henry T., 339, 356.
 Biological Association, 330, 333, 334.
 Blennerhasset, Arthur, 63, 349.
 Book of Aicill, 6.
 Botanical Laboratory completed, 329.
 'Botany Bay', 205.
 ' — Garden', 148, 153, 182, 204-210.
 Boyton, John Wm., 161, 224, 236, 257, 258, 357.
 Brady, Thomas, 272, 273, 356.
 Bramhall, Dr., 44.
 Brehon Laws, 5-12.
 Brereton, Edward, 161, 162, 163, 229, 356.
 Bridewell, Dublin, 32-35.
 Brooks, H. St. J., 323, 353.
 Browne, Dr., 227.
 Bryan, Daniel, 199.
 Butcher, Richard G., 325.
 Carlyle, Hugh, 296.
 Carmichael School, 295, 297, 307, 309.
 Carr, Wm., 67, 68, 72, 349.
 Cartwright, Dr., 99.
 Catholic University School, 295.
 Chemical Laboratory, 211-213.

- Chemistry, School of, 326.
 Chemys, Charles, **98**, 354.
 Cheyne, John, 232, 283.
 Churchill, Fleetwood, **314**, 358.
 City of Dublin Hospital, 315.
 Clare, Lord, 189, 225, 226.
 Clark, Wm., skeleton of, 127, 128.
 Clarke, Joseph, **137-141**.
 Clearke, John, 44.
 Cleghorn, George, **126-148**, 151, 152, 162, 166, 170, 322, 352, 353.
 — James, 136, **140-143**, 162, 176-179, 182, 183, 200-203, 352.
 — Thomas, 136, 142.
 — William, 136, 137.
 Clements, Wm., 95, **99**, **100**, 106, 123, 145, 165, 204, 350, 351, 354.
 Cockburn, David, 94.
 College of Physicians, 168-186, 207.
 — and estate of Sir Patrick Dun, 190-199, 298.
 — become *ex officio* examiners for degrees, 290.
 — desire to join Concordat with Universities, 285.
 — early history of, 49-75.
 — its privileges, 117-125.
 — new charter granted, 66.
 — petition for complete School of Physic in Ireland, 150.
 College of Physicians, Edinburgh, 153.
 College of Surgeons founded, 150.
 — negotiations with, 296.
 — and Board of Medical School, 286-292.
 Colles, Abraham, 266, 324.
 — Wm., 324, 351.
 Collins, Robert, 272.
 Conchobar, 4, 5.
 Conjoint Board for examining students established, 339.
 Connor, Dr., 59.
 Cope, Henry, 96, **111**, 350.
 Coulter, Dr., 275.
 Cowley, Joshua, 40.
 Craig, James, 313, 357.
 Crampton, John, 213-215, 224, 236, 257-259, **303**, **304**, 358.
 Crosby, Dr., 55, 60-63.
 Cullen, Edmund, 152, 161, 162, **163**, 179, 191, 358.
 Cuming, Dr., 132, 133, 135.
 Cumyng, Dr., 64.
 Cunningham, Daniel J., 322, 336, 352.
 Cusack, James Wm., 203, 289, 296, 324, 351.
 Cusacke, Johannes, 44.
 Dabzac, Henry, 66, 99, 154, 173.
 Degree of Bachelor of Surgery established, 299.
 Degrees in Obstetrics established, 300.
 Degrees, 268-274, 286-302.
 — Course of study for, lengthened, 252-256.
 — Medical, new regulations, 184-187.
 Delany, Dr., 80.
 de Laune, Dr., 27.
 Dennis, John, 68, **72**, 349.
 Denoué's wax models, 131.
 Dental School established, 330.
 Diancecht, 3.
 Dickson, Alex., **316**, 354.
 — Stephen, 161, **162**, 179, 229, 356, 357.
 Diploma in State Medicine established, 299.
 Dixon, Andrew F., 322, 352.
 — Henry H., 316, 354.
 D'Olin's book, 54.
 Donegall, Lord, 79.
 Doyle, Bernard, 61, 62.
 Dublin Society, grant of £5,000 by Irish House of Commons to, 206.
 Duigenan, Dr., 225.
 Dun, Sir Patrick, 59, 64, 65, **73-75**, 89-92, 115.
 — estate of, 101-104, 150, 151, 156, 175, 177, 179, 182, 190-199, 206, 207, 298, 338.
 — Lady, 92, 93.
 —'s Hospital, 186, 195, 215, 236, 248, 258, 259, 271, 274, 298, 309, 310, 320, 325.

- Dun's Hospital opened to surgical patients, 301, 324.
 ———, institution for training soldiers' wives as midwives started, 314.
 ——— library, 104, 298.
 Duncan, Andrew, 183.
- Egan, Thomas, 232.
 Ekenhead, Miss Mary, 217, 218.
 Elrington, Thomas, 225, 237.
- Ferguson, John Creery, 309, 357.
 Finny, John Magee, 313, 357.
 Fitzpatrick, Thomas, 337.
 ——— Mrs. Thomas, 337.
 Fleury, John Charles, 161.
 Foreside, Francis, 96, 350, 352.
- General Council of Medical Education and Registration established, 292.
 Gilbert, Claud, 79.
 Gilborne, John, 115, 145.
 Gilroy, Dr., 311.
 Goughman, Lamb, 44.
 Grattan, James, 92, 103, 104, 356.
 ——— Richard, 356.
 Graves, Robert J., 215, 233, 267, 277-281, 282, 306, 357.
 Green, Arthur, 61.
 ——— Wm., 93, 94, 126, 352.
 Greene, George, 308, 309, 357.
 ——— Herries, 232.
 Griffith, Robert, 78, 86, 88, 92, 353, 356.
 Guilds, Medical, in Ireland, 14, 15.
 Gwither, Dr., 87, 88.
- Hall, John, Vice-Provost, 64.
 Halle, Dr., 44.
 Halliday, Dr., 139, 210.
 Harcourt, Lord, 100.
 Harris, Richard, 161.
 Harrison, Robert, 266, 267, 274, 317, 352, 355.
 Hartigan, Edward, 200.
 ——— Wm., 183, 200-204, 216, 218, 220, 223, 352.
 ——— Edward, jun., 203.
- Harty, Dr., 210.
 Harvey, Wm., 153, 191, 199, 207, 303.
 ——— Wm. Henry, 275, 276, 316, 354.
 Haughton, Samuel, 300-302, 307, 319, 328, 333, 334.
 Helsham, Richard, 73, 78, 79, 79-82, 92, 95, 349, 350.
 Herbarium, the, additions to, 276, 277.
 Hill, Sir John, 74.
 ——— Edward, 146-149, 153, 162, 163, 164, 165, 169, 170, 174, 182, 205, 207, 208, 224, 236, 256, 351, 354.
 Hippocrates, 1, 2, 9, 11, 30.
 Histological Laboratory built, 307, 308, 327.
 Holmes, Matthias, 20.
 Hopkins, Francis, 161, 169, 191, 221, 238.
 Hospital, City of Dublin, 315.
 ——— House of Industry, 303, 318.
 ——— Meath, 214, 215, 281.
 ——— Mercer's, 13, 63, 153, 169, 181, 189.
 ——— St. Mark's, 296.
 ——— of St. Stephen, Dublin, 13, 111.
 ——— ——— Waterford, 13.
 ——— Stevens's, 12, 153, 213, 215, 295-297.
 ——— Sir Patrick Dun's, see Dun.
 House of Industry Hospitals, 303, 318.
 Howard, Ralph, 49-51, 67, 69, 350.
 ——— Robert, Bishop of Elphin, 50.
 Hoyle, Nathaniel, 40.
 ——— Richard, 78, 86, 93, 95, 351.
 Hudson, Edward, 95, 350.
 ——— Alfred, 310-312, 351.
 Hunter, Dr., 133.
 Hutcheson, Francis, 123, 143-145, 149, 154, 353.
 Hutchinson, Rt. Hon. John Hely-, 99, 100, 136, 150, 154, 175.
 Hykie, Nicholas, 9.

- Iveagh, Lord, 329.
- Jacob, Arthur, 238, 296.
 Jellett, Henry, 358.
 Josina, King of Scotland, 5.
- Kearney, Rev. Dr., 154.
 Kelly, Sir —, 24.
 Kennedy, Ivory, 272.
 Kirkpatrick, John R., 314, 358.
- Laud, Archbp., 24.
 Law, Robert, 305, 306, 357.
 Leahy, John J., 210, 221, 357.
 Ledwich School, 295, 297.
 Leland, Dr., 99.
 Lendrick, Charles R. A., 260, 261, 308, 357.
 Leper Hospitals in Ireland, 13.
 Little, James, 351.
 — Thomas E., 320, 323, 353.
 Litton, Dr., 210.
 Lloyd, Dr., 239.
 — Owen, 349.
 — Thomas, 105, 106.
 — Wm., 63, 72, 73, 79, 349.
 Loftus, Archbp., 19, 20.
- Macan, Arthur Vernon, 314, 358.
 Macalister, Alex., 321, 322, 334, 352, 355.
 Macartney, James, 216–221, 222, 223, 225, 234, 235, 238, 239, 241–243, 245–247, 257–267, 296, 308, 317, 326, 328, 331, 352.
 M'Dowel, Benjamin G., 318, 319, 320, 321, 323, 352.
 Machonchy, Dr., 137.
 Mackay, James T., 210.
 Mackintosh, Wm. H., 301, 355.
 M'Loughlin, Peter Edward, 223.
 M'Michan, John, 105.
 Madden, John, 56, 95, 96.
 — Thomas, 95, 352.
 — Samuel, 96.
 Magrath, Cornelius, 128–130.
 Margetson, Thomas, 49–51, 54, 350.
 Marsh, Narcissus, 54.
 — Sir Henry, 282, 296.
 Massey, Samuel, 69.
- Meath Hospital, 214, 215, 281.
 Medical Act of 1858, 283, 292.
 — amending Acts, 1860 and 1876, 293, 300.
 — Library, 333.
 — Scholarships, 295, 335, 336.
 — School Committee, 300, 328, 338.
 — School, New Buildings, 241, 328.
 — Schools, Private, in Ireland, established, 295, 297.
 — Society of Coll. of Physicians, 333.
 — Students' Society, 331–334.
 Mercer, George, 49, 57, 63, 349.
 — Mrs. Mary, 97.
 —'s Hospital, 13, 63, 153, 169, 181, 189.
 Midwifery, Chair of, established, 313, 314.
 Mitchell, Dr., 88.
 Mollan, John, 272.
 Molloy, Edward, 95, 99, 350.
 Molyneux, Daniel, 83.
 — Samuel, 83.
 — Thomas, 78, 79, 80, 83–86, 88, 92, 94, 350.
 — Wm., 54, 69, 83, 84.
 Monro, Alexander, 132.
 Montgomery, Wm. F. H., 267, 285, 313, 314, 358.
 Moore, Norman, 11, 12.
 — Wm., 313, 357.
 Morgan, Thomas, 110.
 Moriarty, Sir Thomas, 222, 223.
 Mosse, Bartholomew, 124.
 Mullin, Allen, 57–59.
 Murray, Provost, 206.
- Napier, Sir Thomas, 321.
 Natural History, Chair of, established, 231.
 Nicholson, Henry, 56, 87, 98, 354.
- O'Callenans of Desmond, 9.
 O'Cassidys of Fermanagh, 9.
 O'Hickeys, The, 9.
 — Book of the, 12.
 O'Lees of Connaught, 9.

- O'Meara, Dermod, 29, 30.
 Osborne, Jonathan, 215, **304**, 358.
 O'Sullivan, Alex. C., 329, 356.
 Ould, Sir Fielding, 119-122, **123-125**, 134.
 Palliser, Wm., 49, 349.
 Parsons, Widow, 76.
 Pathological Society founded, 276.
 — and Obstetrical Societies, 333.
 Pendarvis, Mrs., 80, 81.
 Pentland, Dr., 238.
 Perceval, Robert, 146-148, 162, 163, **165-167**, 171-173, 175, 178-183, 190, 207, 211, 212, 213, 218, 353.
 Petty, Sir Wm., 54, 57.
 Phipps, Dr., 223, 239.
 Plunket, Patrick, 161, 191, 199.
 Porter, George H., 351.
 — Wm., 324.
 Pratt, Benjamin, 67, 92.
 Prior, Dr., 223.
 Prizes for medical students, 335-337.
 Purcell, Dr., 135, 137.
 Purser, John Mallet, 306-308, 336, 357.
 Quin, Charles, 161, 169, 177.
 — Henry, 105, 106, 107, **113, 114**, 116, 154, 156, 356.
 Raymond, Anthony, 72, 349.
 Reader, Archdeacon, 106.
 Rehlan, Anthony, 105.
 Reid, Robert, 272.
 Religious disabilities of professors removed, 297, 298.
 Reynolds, James Emerson, **315**, 354.
 Robinson, Bryan, 82, 93, 95, 105, 106, **109-112**, 122, 126, 350, 351.
 — Robert, 105, 106, **112, 113**, 122, 129, 352.
 Ryan, Richard, 223.
 St. Mark's Hospital, 296.
 St. Patrick's Well, 240.
 Sandes, Launcelot, 45.
 — Stephen, Bishop of Cashel, 262.
 Saunders, Arthur, 161.
 School of Physic Acts, 297, 300, 323, 338.
 School of Surgery, establishment of, 288, 289.
 Science laboratories erected, 329.
 Scott, Robert, 208-210, 354.
 Shaw, Nathaniel, 65.
 — Vessy, 96, 127, 352.
 Shelbourne, Earl of, 131.
 Sheridan, Dr., 80.
 Sinclair, Edward B., 314, 358.
 Sirr, Rev. J. D., 275.
 Smith, Aquilla, 272, **305**, 358.
 — Erasmus, 79.
 — Robert Wm., 274, 286, 323, 326, 355.
 — Thomas, Mayor of Dublin, 18, 19.
 — Walter G., 305, 358.
 — Wm. F., 295.
 Smyth, Henry, 116.
 — William, 92, **96**, 353.
 — William, Jun., 96, 97.
 Span, James, **145, 146**, 205, 353, 354.
 Stack, Wm., 357.
 Stearne, John, 22, 35, **36-48**, 49, 51, 65, 349, 350.
 Steevens, Dr. Richard, 50, 70, 85, 151, 350.
 Steevens's Hospital, 12, 153, 213, 215.
 — School, 295-297.
 Stephens, Wm., **97, 98**, 105, 106, 123, 143, 353.
 Stokes, Whitley, 214, 215, **224-233**, 256, 281, 350, 351, 356.
 — Wm., 215, 232, 272, 277, **280-284**, 285, 305, 310, 311, 332, 351.
 Styles, Henry, 22.
 Surgery, 274, 323, 324.
 Surgical Pathology, Museum of, 328.
 — Society established, 333.
 Swift, Dean, 80, 81, 88, 131.
 —'s Asylum, 303.

- Tailor, John, 44.
 Tassie, James, 114.
 Taylor, Edward H., 324, 355.
 Temple, Sir John, 24, 25, 52, 53, 64, 349.
 — Sir Wm., 22.
 Thewles, George, 64.
 'Thingmote, The,' 240.
 Thompson, Wm., 78.
 — Prof., Glasgow, 281.
 — Wm. H., 308, 357.
 Thornton, James, 146, 166, 353.
 Todderick, Dr., 221.
 Toleken, John, 256, 350.
 Tone, Wolfe, 226, 227.
 Travers, Robert, 339, 356.
 Tuomy, Martin, 224, 229, 236, 257, 258, 356.
 United Irishmen, Society of, 217, 218, 225.
 Usher, James, Archbishop of Armagh, 27.
 — Robert, 37.
 Ussher, Henry, 149, 152.
 Van Helmont, John Baptist, 30, 31.
 Wade, Robert W., 114.
 — Dr., 210.
 Walker, George, 49.
 — John, 230, 280, 349.
 Waller, Robert, 54, 55.
 Ward, Dr., Cambridge, 28, 29, 38.
 'Wax-works' in Medical School, 130, 237.
 Whittingham, George, 106, 127, 131, 134, 352.
 Wilde, Sir Wm., 55.
 Williamson, Caesar, 40.
 Willoughby, Charles, 54, 55.
 Wilmot, Samuel, 204, 220, 222, 223.
 Wilson, Henry T., 358.
 — Thomas, 149.
 — Dr., 239.
 Winter, Samuel, 38, 47.
 Women admitted to registration, 293.
 — — — Trinity College, 330.
 Wright, Edward Perceval, 316, 354, 355.
 Yarner, Sir Abraham, 51, 52.
 Young, Sydney, 315, 354.
 Zoological Museum, 276, 327.
 — and Botanical Association, 277, 331.

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